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ADDRESSES

ON THE

DEATH OF HON. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS,

DELIVERED IN THE

SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ON

TUESDAY, JULY 9, 1861.

WASHINGTON:
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.
1861.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

TUESDAY, *July* 16, 1861.

Resolved, That there be printed and bound, under the direction of the Committee on Printing, twenty thousand copies of the Obituary Addresses delivered in the Senate and House on the death of the Hon. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, for the use of the Members of this House.

Attest:

EM. ETHERIDGE,

Clerk.

ADDRESSES

ON THE

DEATH OF HON. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

TUESDAY, JULY 9, 1861.

Address of Mr. TRUMBULL, of Illinois.

MR. PRESIDENT: At the close of the last day in the month of May, 1861, on entering the city of Chicago after a brief visit to this place, I was informed by a friend who met me at the depot that my colleague in this body, Hon. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, was dying, and would not probably survive an hour. As I approached the Tremont House, in which he lay, I found the sidewalks and the vestibule of the hotel thronged with people anxiously inquiring after the condition of the dying man. The next morning it was some relief to know that he was still alive, though it was said with little hope of a recovery. He continued in this condition the whole of that day and the next, when the public began to entertain expectations of his restoration to health. The fears and hopes of the immediate attendants, friends, and relatives, who watched over him during those awful hours of suspense, and till nine

o'clock on the morning of the 3d day of June, when he expired, I have no disposition, had I the power, to portray. The solemn duty of announcing my late colleague's decease imposes upon me no such obligation; and God grant that the wounds then inflicted may not be opened afresh.

MR. DOUGLAS was born at Brandon, Vermont, April 23, 1813, being but forty-eight years of age at the time of his decease. He was descended from Puritan ancestors by both his parents. Of one—his father—he was bereft in infancy. His mother still survives. After acquiring such an education as could be obtained at the common school and the academy, not having the means to perfect it by a collegiate course, at the early age of twenty he emigrated to the State of Illinois, where he taught school for a short time, and, in 1834, was admitted to the bar to practice law. In 1835 he was made State's attorney; and from that day till the day of his death was almost constantly engaged in the public service of either the State or the Nation. He held the offices of State's attorney, representative in the legislature, secretary of state, and justice of the supreme court in the State of Illinois, and also that of register of the land office at Springfield, in that State, by appointment from Mr. Van Buren, before he entered the Councils of the Nation as a representative in the other branch of Congress, in 1843.

He was three times elected by the people to the House of Representatives, and thrice by the legislature of his State to a seat in this body; and was continuously a member of one House or the other, from his first entry, in 1843, till his death—four years of his last sena-

torial term still remaining unexpired. From this brief history, it appears that Judge DOUGLAS devoted more than half his life, and all the years of his manhood, to the public service; and so prominent was the part he took in public affairs, so intimate the connection between his own rise and fame and the progress and renown of his State and the Nation, that the history of the one would be incomplete without that of the other. No great public movement has taken place since he entered public life which has not felt the influence of his will and his intellect; perhaps no one man since the government began ever exercised a greater influence over the masses of the people than he. No one ever gathered around him more devoted followers or more enthusiastic admirers, who were willing to do and dare more for another, than were his friends for him.

What this charm was which so linked the popular heart to him that it never faltered even under circumstances apparently the most discouraging, seems almost mysterious. This feeling of attachment followed him to the grave, and was never more manifest than after his decease, when he had become alike indifferent to the adulation of friends or the censure of enemies, and when his power had forever departed either to reward the one or punish the other. It was then, if ever, as his body lay lifeless in the city of Chicago, that the true feeling of a people would manifest itself; and it did manifest itself, not only there, but throughout the Nation, to an extent scarcely, if ever, witnessed since the death of the Father of his Country. The badges of mourning were seen displayed not only from the public buildings and the mansions of the rich, but the

cottages of the poor, the carts of the workmen, and the implements of the laborer, were everywhere to be seen draped with the habiliments of woe, all the more touching as they were simple and plain. The people's favorite in life, he was followed by their lamentations in death.

But Judge DOUGLAS possessed not only the power of fascinating the masses; he was a marked man wherever he went and with whomsoever he associated. No matter whether as a lawyer at the bar; as a judge on the bench; at an agricultural society, where the skilled in mechanic and industrial pursuits were assembled; at some college commencement, where the learned were convened; in the other House of Congress, in the midst of the tumult and commotion of its most excited debates; in this more deliberative body, or before the popular assembly of the people; wherever he appeared, he always shone conspicuous. He was one of the few men who have proved themselves equal to every emergency in which they have been called upon to act. I remember well when he was transferred from the House of Representatives to the Senate; his enemies predicted and his friends feared that his talents were not fitted for this body, and that he would be unable to sustain the reputation he had acquired in the more popular branch. He entered here when the great men whose talents and learning and eloquence have shed an undying lustre on the American Senate—when Clay, Webster, Benton, and Calhoun, in the vigor of manhood, full of wisdom and experience—were still here, and proved himself no mean compeer of either. His speech of 1850, wherein he met and refuted the positions of the great Carolinian, upon the very points which have been

made the pretexts of the southern rebellion, was perhaps the greatest effort of his life.

The distinguishing characteristics of Judge DOUGLAS, which enabled him to cope successfully with the greatest intellects of the age, were fearlessness, quickness of apprehension, a strong will, and indomitable energy. He knew no such word as fail. He had full confidence in himself, and of his ability to accomplish whatever he undertook. In controversy he was unsurpassed, and without pretension either to accomplished scholarship or eloquence, there was a fullness in his voice, an earnestness in his manner, a directness in his argument, and a determination in his every look and action, which never failed to command attention; and, often electrifying the multitude, would elicit unbounded applause. This crowded Chamber has often been witness of the delight with which the multitude hung upon his words.

Of the political course of Judge DOUGLAS, and its effect on the country, it does not become me to speak; but I may be permitted to say, that when a portion of the Opposition to his Administration assumed the position of armed resistance to its authority, and attempted by force to dismember the Republic, he at once took sides with his country. His course had much to do in producing that unanimity in support of the government which is now seen throughout the loyal States. The sublime spectacle of twenty million people rising as one man in vindication of constitutional liberty and free government, when assailed by misguided rebels and plotting traitors, is to a considerable extent due to his efforts. His magnanimous and patriotic course in this trying hour of his country's destiny was the crowning

act of his life. All his life-long a devoted partisan of the Democratic faith, he did not hesitate, when his country was in peril chiefly from those who had formerly been his political associates, to give his powerful support and the aid of his great influence to the government, though controlled by political adversaries. If in thus discharging his duty Judge DOUGLAS manifested a disinterestedness, a magnanimity, and a patriotism which entitle him to credit, it is but just to say that he was met by his political opponents in a similar spirit. Perhaps the highest compliment ever paid him, and one which few statesmen have ever received, was that extended to him by the legislature of Illinois on his return to the State after the close of the last session of the Senate. That body, controlled in both its branches by his political adversaries, unanimously invited him to address them on the condition of the country; and nobly did he respond to the invitation. His address delivered on that occasion, which, by order of the legislature, was extensively circulated through the State, will ever remain an enduring monument to his fame, and an example worthy of all imitation of the sacrifice of pride to principle, of self to country, and of party to patriotism.

In social life Judge DOUGLAS was genial and attractive. Open, frank, and generous almost to a fault, he never failed to exercise a large influence over all with whom he came in contact; and few men have ever had more numerous or more devoted personal friends.

Such were some of the characteristics of our departed brother. Inheriting neither wealth nor position from an illustrious ancestry, he acquired both by the active, energetic, laborious, and never-ceasing use of those

noble faculties with which he was endowed by the Great Author of all; and if the wealth he at one time possessed does not remain to those who were dependent on him, it is because the energies of his great mind were devoted rather to the country and to the whole people than to providing for his own. Laboring under the defects of an imperfect education in early life, his industry and his energy supplied the want. He was emphatically a self-made man; and the history of his life affords a striking illustration of what industry and energy, united with a strong will, can accomplish.

But that iron will which had so often met and overcome obstacles was compelled to yield at last to the King of Terrors; for it is appointed unto man once to die. Only a few months ago Judge DOUGLAS, in vigorous health, went forth from this Chamber to rally his countrymen to the support of the Constitution and the laws, and then to die—to die at the very zenith of his fame, when a whole loyal people, forgetting past political ties, stood ready to do him honor. His death, in the full vigor of manhood, should admonish us who are left that here we have no abiding place; it may be not even for the brief periods for which we are chosen members of this body.

Mr. DOUGLAS was not a professor of religion in the sense of being attached to any particular church; but in his will, executed several years before his decease, after providing for his worldly affairs, he says: "I commit my soul to God, and ask the prayers of the good for His divine blessing;" thus leaving on record the evidence of his trust in the Supreme Ruler of the world. He leaves surviving him a widow, and two children by a

former marriage. Into the domestic circle broken by his departure I do not propose to enter, nor to attempt by any poor words of mine to administer consolation to those who were bound to him by the closest of ties. How unutterable must be the anguish of the aged mother, the sister, the children, and the bosom companion of him whose departure has clothed a whole nation in mourning! I can only point them to Him who has promised to be a father to the fatherless and the widow's God.

On the 17th day of June last all that remained of our departed brother was interred near the city of Chicago, on the shore of Lake Michigan, whose pure waters, often lashed into fury by contending elements, are a fitting memento of the stormy and boisterous political tumults through which the great popular orator so often passed. There the people, whose idol he was, will erect a monument to his memory; and there, in the soil of the State which so long, without interruption, and never to a greater extent than at the moment of his death, gave him her confidence, let his remains repose so long as free government shall last, and the Constitution he loved shall endure.

I offer the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the members of the Senate, from a sincere desire of showing every mark of respect due to the memory of Hon. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, deceased, late a Senator from the State of Illinois, will go into mourning by wearing crape on the left arm for thirty days.

Resolved, unanimously, That, as an additional mark of respect for the memory of Hon. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, the Senate do now adjourn.

Ordered, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

Address of MR. McDougall, of California.

MR. PRESIDENT: I received the first intelligence of the decease of the late Senator from Illinois as the pilot came on board our ship on my recent arrival off the harbor of New York. The universal and solemn exhibition of the profoundest sorrow on the part of all the companions of my voyage, embracing men of all classes, all opinions, and all sections, fully showed that the dead Senator had filled a large place in the heart of the American people. All seemed deeply to feel that another of our great men—one of those who had most and best illustrated our republican institutions—had left us forever for the companionship of his fathers; gone, too, at a time when his great qualities for counsel and conduct were most needed by his country.

But as, powerless for the moment to resist the tide of emotions I bowed my head in silent grief, it came to me that the Senator had lived to witness the opening of the present unholy war upon our government; that, witnessing it from the capitol of his State, as his highest and best position, he had sent forth a war cry worthy of that Douglass who, as ancient legends tell, with the welcome of the knightly Andalusian king, was told:

“Take thou the leading of the van,
And charge the Moors amain;
There is not such a lance as thine
In all the hosts of Spain.”

Those trumpet notes, with a continuous swell, are sounding still throughout all the borders of our land.

I heard them upon the mountains and in the valleys of the far State from whence I come. They have communicated faith and strength to millions.

He lived to witness his great appeal to a nation of freemen answered by unnumbered legions of patriotic men, and to feel and understand, with a confident assurance, that the mad assault made by misguided men upon the integrity of our Union, instead of resulting in disunion and anarchy, would establish our institutions upon deeper and firmer foundations, and leave a certain guarantee of peace, liberty, and unity to our children and children's children to remote generations. He lived to have, by the majesty and power of his last great effort, risen above the reach of malice or detraction, and to have secured for his memory the love and admiration of all men who love freedom here, everywhere, and forever. I ceased to grieve for DOUGLAS. The last voice of the dead DOUGLAS I felt to be stronger than the voice of multitudes of living men.

While paying the tribute of my respect to the memory of Mr. DOUGLAS, I prefer speaking simply of the man as I knew him. The record of his public life is a part of the written history of our country.

It is now twenty-four years since I first met Mr. DOUGLAS; he then a young lawyer of established reputation for ability; I about attempting success in the same profession. Of the same political opinions, engaged in the same pursuits, and of similar social relations, from the first we became friends. It is to me a matter of sincere satisfaction that I am able to reflect that that friendship continued, without a single interruption, for near a quarter of a century, and until the Great

Ruler severed it, to be renewed, I trust, in the land of spirits.

At a very early period Mr. DOUGLAS turned his attention to public affairs; and I soon learned to place great reliance upon his sagacity and judgment. As years passed by that confidence increased; and if among the men I have known in public life I have trusted him most, I can at the same time say I knew him best.

That he possessed commanding talents is now everywhere admitted. In my judgment, he was in his time the greatest living master of forensic discourse. Seemingly ornament, simple, vigorous, and correct in language and in manner, he was a powerful as well as just reasoner, from the very necessities of his intellectual and moral organization. He possessed a true as well as a large and powerful mind.

His enemies have charged him with ambition—with excess of ambition. He was ambitious; but it was a great and a just ambition. He was ambitious in this, that he loved to engage in and to achieve great enterprises. If he aspired to places of power, the position of power was never the goal with him. He sought power that he might accomplish great things for his country and his age.

The architect of his own fortunes, as well as the architect of his own opinions, the surroundings and discipline of his early life, together with his naturally bold and self-reliant character, gave to him progressive rather than conservative proclivities, and led him, from the outstart of life, to espouse the opinions and policies of that great Democratic party, in the councils and

movements of which he ever afterward acted so large a part.

His promptness in judgment and boldness and energy in conduct would have made him a leader of men in any age or nation; and while he possessed the promptitude and courage of a great leader, he united with it a capacity for counsel equal to his capacity for action.

Considered opinion will, I have no doubt, yield to him a place second to that of no man of his immediate time.

The great feature of the public policies of Mr. DOUGLAS is to be found in his devotion to the organization and development of the States and Territories of the West—that great country, which, by its marvelous progress, has given the best assurance of the vital power of our republic. Indeed, from the period when as a youth he stood on the green hills of his native Vermont, it would seem as if, obedient to some rudimental law related to the motion of the sun in heaven or the earth upon its axis, his look was westward; and although he knew nothing of the fabled islands of the western sea which ancient songs and golden sunsets gilded, he saw in the new land yet unconquered from the wilderness the theatre in which to realize his young hopes and indulge the aspirations of his young ambition. During all his life his earnest eye was on the great West, while others of our statesmen knew more of the intrigues of the courts of Europe than of the important interests springing up beyond the Alleghanies. To those interests—their comprehension and advancement—he devoted himself with an unwavering zeal. Nor were his labors and interests confined by the valley of the Illinois

or the great basin of the Mississippi. I have known no man in public or private life who was so thoroughly conversant with or who interested himself so much in our possessions on the Pacific. He was the first person within my knowledge to earnestly advocate the construction of a railway from the Mississippi river to the bay of San Francisco. This was a favorite enterprise with him years before we had acquired California from Mexico.

But the relations of Mr. DOUGLAS to the States and Territories of the West—his labors for their material and political interest—are part of the history of the country. On the shores of the Pacific the intelligence of his decease will put a whole people in mourning.

Mr. DOUGLAS was a courageous, magnanimous, true, and great man. I loved and honored him while living; I love and honor his memory dead.

Mr. President, I second the resolutions by the honorable Senator from Illinois.

Address of MR. COLLAMER, of Vermont.

MR. PRESIDENT: STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS was a native of Vermont, and she claims to utter a word on the occasion of this solemn announcement of his decease. However much a majority of her people may have often, and perhaps generally, disagreed with his political positions and measures, yet they duly appreciate the strong points of his character, the elevated position he

has occupied, and the extensive influence he has wielded in this nation, and cherish pride in him as one of their sons. That a poor orphan boy from the Green mountains could peaceably accomplish all this, is to that people not merely a matter of wonder or admiration of his personal resolution and ability, but an inspiring and brilliant manifestation of the generous liberality of our free institutions, opening the avenues of enterprise to success and elevation to the effort and energy of all, however humble.

Brilliant and commanding as have been the positions and parts which he has performed on the political theatre of this nation, it is strikingly observable in how short a time it was accomplished. His whole course in the national councils was confined to a period of less than twenty years. In that short period, laboring in the Democratic party, he succeeded in securing to himself the sympathy and affection of the great body of the masses of that long-dominant party, and held their hearts in his hand. How generous and cordial must have been the spirit of the man to secure to himself so extensive, so confiding, and devoted attachments!

The first great ingredient in the composition of his success was, that he was not merely with the masses of the people, but was *of* them. The people submit with cheerfulness to leadership and control if it is of their own creation; and Mr. DOUGLAS was not great by adventitious circumstances beyond their control. This, his normal character, was never essentially modified by any sophistications of education, which with him was very limited; and he fully appreciated through life, as an element of his strength, and often proudly alluded to,

his early *mechanic* service as fixing his identity with the masses of the people.

Another element of his success is found in his indomitable energy and perseverance. This is too universally understood to require remark. It was said of old that the gods help those who help themselves, and men generally concur in like conduct.

It has been truly said that "much study makes a wise man, much writing a correct man, and much speaking a ready man." The last of these propositions is most true of controversial speaking; and of that Mr. DOUGLAS was both an example and an illustration. Much has been said of his power of debate as a point in his superiority and an instrument of his elevation. As a public speaker, he was almost exclusively practiced as an advocate and champion of the Democratic party, whose principles and doctrines he never questioned. He thus became disciplined in *occupying* and *defending* positions rather than in selecting them. In this he became dexterous and adroit to an unusual and almost wonderful degree in all the skill of forensic gladiatorship. As the positions of his party were, with him, unquestionable and axiomatic truths, he regarded everything opposed to them as false and unfounded. With this habit of mind, it became to him almost impossible ever to receive or appreciate, believe or present, the statement or argument of his opponent in any other light but the one which would destroy their force or enable himself to answer them. His persistence was unrelenting, very seldom convinced of error, and never betraying a consciousness of being vanquished.

In contributing to the repeal of the Missouri compro-

mise—that prolific source of vast political complications and consequences—it was sanctified to him by his cherished principle that the people were to be left “perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way ;” and though too slow to believe the border-ruffian violence by which the people of Kansas were subjugated, yet, when violence and fraud culminated in that great national swindle, the Leecompton constitution, he met and exposed it with the frankness and decision of a just and high-minded patriot.

Mr. DOUGLAS supported the Democratic party as a national party. His attachments and sympathies were with the *nation* and its institutions which cherished him; and his ambition or aspiration was to be President of the *United States*, not of only a part of it. His defeat was not by the body of his party, but by the conspiracy of men long leaders in that party, no less ambitious than himself, but enemies of the nation, its institutions, and its flag.

He became what he was, mainly through his own exertions; and the fact that they enabled him to acquire the distinction he possessed was due to the liberal institutions of this government: as to all which he was neither insensible nor ungrateful. When the southern traitors proceeded to the dismemberment of this government by open war, he, laying aside the party differences which separated him from the Executive, promptly, and with frank, patriotic devotion, tendered to the Executive his services and influence to sustain the government in the hour of its peril. I say “its peril,” as it has long since outgrown all apprehension of foreign invasion; and domestic convulsions and internal war is its last trial.

Into this service he entered with his usual devotion, activity, and eloquence, until arrested by fatal disease.

He has departed to his long home in the meridian of his manhood, and at a juncture in which he might have been of more than ordinary service to the country. Human judgment might say his death was untimely and premature. Human judgment is quite too feeble for such a subject; but how can we, even in human judgment, regard his departure as premature whose last public act was the crowning glory of his earthly career.

Address of MR. NESMITH, of Oregon.

MR. PRESIDENT: Though my personal acquaintance with MR. DOUGLAS was brief, it was of a nature to inspire me with admiration of his character, and fill my heart with gratitude for acts of personal kindness extended to me when I arrived in this capitol for the first time in January last.

My silence on this occasion would not only do violence to my own feelings, but would be in sad contrast with the sorrowful emotions of the people whom I, in part, represent, and who have just cause to mourn the loss of a friend and benefactor.

By the side of Illinois, Oregon claims the position of chief mourner at the portals of the tomb of the great DOUGLAS. From the commencement of his congressional career to the day of his death we had no such devoted friend and able advocate. In the contest growing out of our boundary question, in 1846, he was a strenuous

advocate of our territorial integrity; and in the same year he reported a bill in the House of Representatives to give us a territorial organization. Again, in 1847, in this body, he reported another bill for the same purpose. He was also an efficient advocate of our admission as a State of the Union. His voice was always raised in our behalf, and in behalf of humanity, when we called upon Congress for protection against the savages who surrounded us, or for indemnification for losses suffered at their hands. During the long period that he was chairman of the Committee on Territories, Oregon Territory never appealed to him in vain; while your records show that we have been the constant recipients of his aid since our admission as a State.

In addition to the debt of gratitude which we owe for his public services in our behalf, his memory will long be cherished in the hearts of many of the early settlers in Oregon, who were his neighbors, friends, and constituents in Illinois.

These considerations, Mr. President, cause us to appreciate the melancholy fact that we have been deprived of a patron, friend, and benefactor. We are sadly conscious that our friend has fallen, and those of us who recognised him as our party chieftain, and were proud to award him the position in politics and statesmanship which his great Scottish namesake once held as the gallant leader of his clansmen in war, can hardly realize that we have listened to his slogan for the last time.

Inexorable death has paralyzed that gigantic intellect, but the memory of its noble achievements will never die; and millions yet unborn, while struggling with

adversity, will be pointed to his noble career as a beacon light to guide them in the pathway of honorable usefulness and patriotic renown.

“In stilly thought, and in bewildering fight,
A cloud by day, a pillar'd flame by night,
He'll point us onward, onward to the goal;
Leading on legions with his vast control;
Implanting truth, the idol of his soul.”

In our present unfortunate difficulties Mr. DOUGLAS rose above the partisan; and early in the last session, just after a heated political contest, he voluntarily declared that by-gones with him should be forgotten, while his energies were devoted to the preservation of the Union which he loved so well. He resorted to every honorable expedient to avert from his country the horrors of sectional strife, and the shedding of fraternal blood, until forbearance ceased to be a virtue, and until treason, with unparalleled audacity, threatened the very existence of the government. It was then that he appealed in patriotic language to the gallant sons of his own State and the great Northwest to rally in defence of the Union, the Constitution, and the laws, though under the administration of a President whose advent to power he had opposed with all the energy of his mighty intellect. Less patriotic partisans have been known, while smarting under defeat, to contribute to the overthrow of a government which they were not permitted to administer. By his voluntary acts he furnished the strongest possible evidence that with him the preservation of the Union and the Constitution were paramount to all other considerations. His memory will be held in reverence so long as the history of our government is

preserved, and while a single human mind is imbued with a belief in the capacity of man for self-government.

It is a source of gratification to know that the manly courage and heroic fortitude which so eminently characterized our friend in life, did not forsake him in the hour of his greatest trial. A consciousness of his own rectitude of purpose during a well spent life inspired him with the courage to meet the inevitable fate which awaits us all, and to look with composure upon the valley and shadow of death.

Mr. President, in common with the people of Oregon, I mourn the loss of our benefactor. As an humble member of a powerful political organization, in common with thousands, I mourn the loss of our gallant chieftain and party leader, under whose proud banner we fought and followed in the forlorn hope.

I mourn the loss of a kind-hearted, generous, and noble personal friend who gave me counsel and advice. Yet more, I mourn the irreparable loss which the nation and the Union sustain in being deprived of the patriotic counsels of his heart in this the hour of our greatest peril.

Address of MR. BROWNING, of Illinois.

MR. PRESIDENT: I appear here as the successor of one who was long a distinguished member of this very distinguished body, and who, since your last adjournment, has finished his course on earth, and crossed the mystic boundary which separates time from eternity.

The melancholy duty of announcing the death of Hon. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS has already been impressively performed by my colleague. I desire to say how truly Illinois, the loved State of his adoption, deplores his loss, and how profoundly the nation participates in the bereavement.

For many years past, the life of Senator DOUGLAS has been intimately and thoroughly identified with the history of the United States. His was a prominent and conspicuous part in the great drama of human affairs; and he associated his name, for good or evil, with every great measure of the last decade affecting the interests and fortunes of our country. During that time no American statesman filled a larger space in the public mind; none maintained a stronger hold upon the affections of his friends. A vigorous and capacious intellect of great versatility and exhaustless resources; an indomitable and exacting will, which subordinated, or sought to subordinate, all others to its control; a copious eloquence, distinguished more for strength and earnestness than for grace and beauty, addressing itself to the intellect more than to the sentiments; combined with a physical organization capable of great endurance and unremitting labor, and with a temperament peculiarly ardent and impetuous, qualified him in an eminent degree for a great political leader; and, as such, he eminently acted his part. No cotemporary exercised equal influence with, or held as absolute dominion over, the minds of his followers.

Without the adventitious aids of fortune or influential friends, but alone by the resources of his own intellect and the energy of his own character, he made his way from an humble but respectable position in private life

to the most exalted places of trust and honor known to our government.

From the moment of commencing his public career his course was onward and upward. Success waited upon his steps. His way was luminous with triumphs seldom dimmed by defeat; and his achievements in the field of politics stopped short only of the highest and most coveted prize in the gift of the American people.

At present, opinions will be various and diverse as to the influence of his life upon the cause of civilization, the cause of human rights, and the destinies of our own great Republic; and it will only be after the passions, prejudices, and partialities engendered by the conflicts of his own time shall have faded away, that the faithful, impartial, and inexorable pen of history will truly estimate his character and justly assign him his place.

But whatever diversities of judgment there may be among his cotemporaries as to the wisdom and beneficence of his measures, all will accord to him great talents, great energy, and an ardor and fervency of patriotism capable of sacrifices of personal predilections, prejudices, and antipathies, which a narrow mind and contracted sympathies could never have made.

He was an extraordinary man, and very distinguished among those who were the most justly and eminently distinguished of his time; and I, in common with those who were his political friends and admirers, claim a share in his fame, as our joint heritage, and a right to participate in their sorrow for his untimely death.

In common with them, I mourn his loss, and ask the privilege of paying this poor tribute to his memory, and throwing an unworthy garland upon his tomb.

I have not risen, Mr. President, for the purpose of eulogy or panegyric; not even to utter approval of the political principles which governed and shaped his public acts; but I would be unjust to my feelings should I fail to declare how deep and sincere was my sorrow for the loss of this distinguished Senator, and especially at a time when he had the power, to a greater extent than any other living man, to render valuable and important services to our perplexed and imperiled country, and the temper and disposition of mind to use that power as it should have been used by a patriot and statesman.

I desire only to do justice to his memory. For a quarter of a century I knew him well and intimately. Young, ardent, and impetuous, and wedded to the fortunes of opposing political parties, as widely sundered and as intensely hostile as parties have ever been in this government, we entered together upon our public career in the winter of 1836-'37, he as a member of the House of Representatives and I as a member of the Senate of the legislature of Illinois. Passing thence, at a later day, he took his place upon the bench, and I an humble position at the bar in the circuit where he presided. Our intercourse was intimate, and uniformly kind and courteous.

In the spring of 1843, the State having been redistricted for congressional representation, he and I, residents of the same village—the one a judge, the other a practitioner before him—were nominated by our respective parties as opposing candidates for Congress in the same district.

In the forenoon of a bright summer day in June, the court was brought to a close for the term in the last

county in the circuit, and he at once resigned his judgeship.

In the afternoon of the same day, by previous mutual arrangement, and at the urgent solicitation of both political parties, we addressed a large assemblage of Whigs and Democrats, thus opening one of the most excited, arduous, and earnest political campaigns that was ever made in the State.

The next day we passed into another county, and again addressed the people; and, from that time forward till the election, we travelled together, often in the same conveyance, and spoke together from the same stand on an average of two hours each per day, and that repeated every day, as my memory now serves me, with the exception only of the Sabbath. The district was one of the largest in the United States, both in population and territory, and the summer unusually warm; and it is perhaps not to be wondered at that the health of both of us gave way under the constant and heavy draught thus made on our physical and intellectual energies: mine a little before, and his on the day of the election.

Perhaps at no time in our country's history did party spirit run higher or wax warmer than at this time it did in Illinois. Personal rancor was almost universal, and personal conflicts not unfrequent between opposing candidates. Impressed with a sense of how pernicious the influence of such an example was upon the public mind; how adverse to a calm and impartial hearing and fair estimate of discussion of the questions which separated us, and vitally interested the country; and how incompatible with the dignity which ought to characterize the deportment of gentlemen aspiring to high positions

of trust and honor, we came to a mutual understanding, before entering upon the canvass, not to violate with each other the courtesies and proprieties of life; and not to permit any ardor or excitement of debate to betray us into coarse and unmanly personalities. And I am proud to say that the compact was well and faithfully kept on both sides. During the entire campaign not one unkind word or discourteous act passed between us; and we closed the canvass with the friendly relations which had previously subsisted undisturbed, and maintained them, without interruption, to the day of his death. From this time forward our intercourse was less frequent. My path lay through the secluded and little observed walks of life; his was the highway of renown, wherein he attracted the constant attention of the nation, and won the unbounded confidence and approval of his friends. Occasionally, during his senatorial life, we met in debate upon the hustings, and tilted and jousted upon the political arena, without any disturbance of the harmony of our personal relations.

These details can have no interest for the Senate or the public, save such as they derive from their connection with the illustrious dead.

Mr. President, it is proper that I should say that there were but few political acts of his life which met my approval, with the exception of such as were crowded into the interval between the fall of Sumter and his death.

For the first time in the world's history the astounding spectacle had been exhibited of a government plotting against its own life, and conspiring for its own overthrow.

For the first time in our nation's history rebel hands

were raised in hostility against our country's flag, to rend its stripes and pluck its bright stars from their field of glory.

We had then but recently passed through a fiery political contest, in which Senator DOUGLAS had been the chosen and almost adored standard bearer of a great and renowned party, which was laboring to elevate him to a position equal in dignity, honor, and power to any on earth. Political parties have seldom been more bitterly hostile than were that which marshaled its hosts under his leadership, and that which followed the fortunes of our honored Chief Magistrate. The object of the Senator's most intense and cherished desire, and to the attainment of which he had devoted his great energies and his unflagging industry—an object compatible with the purest and loftiest patriotism, and worthy of the most exalted ambition—had eluded his grasp, and was in the possession of his great and distinguished rival.

The party which he, no doubt conscientiously, believed to be adverse to the best and truest interests of the country—the men who represented that party, and with whom he had maintained a life-long conflict, always earnest, and sometimes bitter—were installed in power, whilst his own friends were scattered and dispersed. Whatever the causes of hostility, whether his fault or ours, or whether the necessary and inevitable concomitant of political antagonisms between even just and good men, without fault on the part of anybody, the fact is nevertheless so, that the political alienation between him and those who represented and wielded the power of the government was complete.

On the other hand, many of the distinguished men of

the nation, who in former times stood by him in the same party organization, and labored indefatigably for his advancement and promotion, had embarked in an enterprise which had for its object not the overthrow of a party only, but the dismemberment of the Union, and the utter demolition of the government. His party affinities and his loyalty no longer fully and completely harmonized. He had to break with many of the most trusted and most distinguished of his former friends, and fraternize with his fiercest political foes, or he had to renounce his allegiance to the Constitution he had sworn to maintain, and prostitute his powers in plotting its overthrow.

Let us do him justice. What his internal conflicts may have been, we cannot know; what our own would be, thus circumstanced, we dare not say; but we do know that, whatever the struggle in his own breast may have been, it was brief. We do know that the patriot triumphed over the partisan, and that he threw the entire weight of his great influence on the side of his country in the hour of her greatest need. We do know that the indignity done in Charleston harbor to the stars and stripes, at once the emblem of the power and beneficence of the government, and the venerated memento of the sufferings and the sacrifices, the valor, virtue, wisdom, and patriotism of our illustrious sires; that the atrocious assault by the banded cohorts of treason upon a weak, worn, and enfeebled garrison of loyal and incorruptible American soldiers, in the faithful and gallant discharge of the highest and holiest duties, awakened all the enthusiasm, the indignation, and patriotism of his ardent nature, and enlisted all his energies,

unconditionally, in the service of his endangered country. We do know that the patriot achieved a great but easy conquest over the partisan; and that he heartily, warmly, and with a zeal befitting the momentous cause in which he was engaged, united with those who had heretofore not only opposed but denounced him, in a struggle to uphold the Union, sustain the Constitution, and vindicate the claim of the National Government to the obedience of all its citizens; and who should be foremost, most self-sacrificing, and efficient in the holy cause of the Great Republic, rich in cherished memories of the past, abounding in blessings for the present, and radiant with hope for the future, was the only rivalry between him and them. It was a noble and exalted rivalry, worthy of a great cause and great minds, and fitted to shed lustre upon the most eminent statesmen and patriots. Would that he could have lived to continue the generous strife until this most wicked and causeless revolt was everywhere subdued, and the footprint of a traitor no longer desecrated American soil.

There was something, Mr. President, heroic in the promptitude, fearlessness, and decision with which he rent asunder the strong personal and party ties, and dashed from him the fetters which had once bound him to those who were now conspirators, when longer fraternity with them was disloyalty to the government; and something almost sublime in the terrible energy with which he denounced the treason, and launched his imprecations at the traitors who were warring upon the life of the great and good government under whose fostering care he had made himself what he was; had struggled laboriously, but successfully, up the rugged

steep, and taken his place in a conspicuous niche of the temple of fame.

In times of peace Senator DOUGLAS was an intense partisan. It was natural he should be so. Indeed, he could not have been otherwise. Espouse what cause he would, it was a necessity of his physical and mental organization that he should do it with all his might. Doubtless he always believed his zeal and his party preferences to be in the line of his duty, and they certainly were in just subordination to his fealty as a citizen.

He fought the battle of life bravely, but the conflict is over; and now that its turmoil is ended, he reposes quietly beneath the green sod of his adopted State.

In the full vigor and maturity of his mental and physical energies, and just at the time when his services would seem to have been most needed in the great cause of human rights, he has been cut down by the fiat of that wisdom which never errs.

That he had extraordinary endowments no one will deny; and whatever contrariety of opinion may exist as to the influence of his political policy and measures upon the destiny of the nation, the verdict of posterity, the judgment of history, will be, that he went down with his patriotism unseduced, and with no stain upon his loyalty.

Henceforth his name is indissolubly connected with his country's history. Many will esteem the pages which chronicle his deeds as among the brightest in our annals. All the just and good will bend reverently over the records of his closing career.

Address of MR. ANTHONY, of Rhode Island.

MR. PRESIDENT: To the affectionate praises of friends, and the magnanimous eulogies of rivals, I hope it will not be deemed presumptuous if I add a few remarks from one who sustained towards the subject of these resolutions the relations of personal friendship and of political antagonism.

I first met Mr. DOUGLAS soon after he had taken his seat in this body, in whose debates and deliberations he had already begun to hold a leading part, and with whose history his name has since been so closely identified. The frank cordiality of his manners, the unaffected kindness of his heart, the directness of his speech, and the readiness with which he declared himself upon all the questions of the day, made upon me that favorable impression which a more intimate acquaintance strengthened and confirmed.

It is not my purpose to follow his public career, or to enlarge upon the qualities of his character. That grateful office has already been performed. But I have often thought that in his indomitable energy and will, in the sturdy self-reliance of his character, in his early development, and in his rapid march to success, he was no unfitting type of the American character. As a debater, Congress has afforded to him very few equals, either in this Chamber, or in the other House, where his earlier honors were won. Inexhaustible in resources, fierce and audacious in attack, skilful and ingenious in defence, he parried every thrust, and he struck, with irresistible fury, at the weak point of his adversary. He

was a party man, but he loved his country better than his party; and in the crisis which darkened the land in his latter days, he rose to the full height of the occasion, and appeared in the full proportions of an American Senator. His last utterances were for the Union; his last aspiration was for his country; nor is that country unmindful of his renown or ungrateful for his services. Amidst the perils of civil commotion and the shock of fraternal strife, she pauses to weep at his tomb.

That voice to which we have so often listened with earnest attention, upon which these crowded galleries have hung, hour after hour, with unwearied delight, is hushed forever; and that home, so late the scene of genial and graceful hospitality, is shrouded in gloom; and to those who sit in its chambers of darkness, it seems that joy can never again cross its threshold. To them I dare not address myself, for I well know that, at this time, the idea of consolation would seem almost like wrong to the dead; and that upon their ears, words of tenderest sympathy would fall almost with the harshness of insult. But, Mr. President, you and I know that, in the good providence of God, time, the healer, will come to them, as it comes to all, and that what is now a bitter anguish will grow to be a chastened sorrow, softened by the recollection of his greatness and his fame, consoled by the honors which the American people will pay to his memory.

The resolutions were adopted *nem con.*; and the Senate adjourned.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

TUESDAY, JULY 9, 1861.

A message was received from the Senate, by Mr. HICKEY, its Acting Secretary, communicating to the House the resolutions passed by the Senate upon the announcement of the death of Hon. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, late a Senator from the State of Illinois.

The message from the Senate was read, as follows:

IN SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

July 9, 1861.

Resolved, unanimously, That the members of the Senate, from a sincere desire of showing every mark of respect due to the memory of Hon. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, deceased, late a Senator from the State of Illinois, will go into mourning by wearing crape on the left arm for thirty days.

Resolved, unanimously, That as an additional mark of respect for the memory of Hon. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, deceased, the Senate do now adjourn.

Ordered, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

Attest:

W. HICKEY,
Acting Secretary.

Address of Mr. RICHARDSON, of Illinois.

MR. SPEAKER: The resolutions which have been read at your table are the official notice to this House of an event which was known to each of us, and mourned by the country.

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, late a Senator in Congress from the State of Illinois, died at Chicago, the city of his residence, on the 3d of June last, in the forty-ninth year of his age.

After suffering for several weeks from sickness, which baffled the skill of the most eminent physicians in the land, he passed away without pain. During his entire sickness, his fond and affectionate wife was present to cheer his hopes and sooth his suffering. Neither skill nor affection could stay the hand of death. The Great Author of our being had "appointed his bounds" that he could "not pass."

We have, in the time of our need, lost one of our greatest statesmen and purest patriots. In the midday of his manhood, in the midst of his usefulness, Mr. DOUGLAS has descended to the grave. His sun of life has set forever. It fell from its meridian splendor. No twilight obscured its setting.

As the sun of the physical world—the brightest and grandest of all the luminaries of the firmament—sinks to rest, tinging the clouds that stretch along the horizon with the golden glories of its declining rays, so DOUGLAS, the sun-intellect of the Senate and the nation, has gone to his repose, reflecting the light of his great deeds and acts in the legislation of the country, and

tinging the dark clouds that now obscure our political horizon with the beauty and effulgence of that patriotism which illumined his descent to the tomb.

But a short time ago a nation's eyes were turned to him to point the way for his country to escape the dangers which threatened its destruction; and when he was prostrated by sickness a nation's prayers ascended to Heaven that he might be spared to his country.

Arriving at the age when ardor gives way to prudence, his friends, with cheerful hope, looked to his future with confidence that he would be useful to the nation and the age.

Of all the men that have gone to the tomb, none have realized in full their own wishes or fulfilled the expectations of their fellow-men; Judge DOUGLAS adds another to the general list.

It is difficult to realize that we are no more to hear his voice, either in the popular assemblies or in the Senate, with his clear statement and rigid logic, urging either the masses or enlightened Senators to adopt measures to preserve the government and uphold the Constitution.

For eighteen years, upon all the questions that agitated the public mind and elicited debate, his voice has been heard—his influence felt. Whatever in his judgment would advance the public good, augment national renown, strengthen the bonds of the Union, secure the rights of all the people, give to future generations the blessings of the Constitution as formed by our fathers, received the support of his untiring will and great intellect.

This is not the befitting time or appropriate presence to discuss or even allude to disputed political questions.

The parts he has borne in them pass into history, and they are safe.

Mr. DOUGLAS was the architect of his own fame. Penniless, and yet a minor, he came to Illinois, and while teaching a country school he studied and was admitted to the practice of law. He commenced his professional life at Jacksonville, and though the bar at that place was a very able one, numbering among its members gentlemen of great ability and large experience, he soon attained the front rank in their midst.

At the session of the legislature in 1834-'35, he was elected attorney for the State. His competitor was the late Colonel John J. Hardin, who was distinguished alike for his ability in the councils of the nation, and for his courage on the battle-field. In 1836 Mr. DOUGLAS was elected to the legislature. In 1837 he resigned his seat in the legislature to accept the place of register of the land office at Springfield, to which he had been appointed by Mr. Van Buren. In 1838 he resigned the office of register, having been nominated for Congress. At the election of that year he was defeated by a very small majority against him in a vote of forty-odd thousand—then the largest ever cast in a single district in the United States.

His successful competitor, after serving four years in this House with great credit, voluntarily retired from public life. Although Mr. Stewart was one of our purest and most sagacious public men, he has resisted the importunities of friends again to enter the political arena.

In 1841 Mr. DOUGLAS was made Secretary of State. After discharging, for a short time, the duties of that

position, he resigned, and was elected in the same year a judge of the supreme court of the State of Illinois. In 1843 he resigned the judgeship, and was shortly afterwards elected a member of this House over the gentleman who is now his successor in the Senate. Mr. DOUGLAS was twice reelected from the same district. At the session of the legislature of 1846-'47, he was elected to the United States Senate. He resigned his place in this House after serving four years. He was twice reelected a member of the Senate.

In his last contest for the Senate, which was the most remarkable in the history of the country, his competitor was the present President of the United States. In the contest in Illinois the party in opposition to him at all times presented their ablest man as his competitor.

In 1860 Judge DOUGLAS was a candidate for the first office in the gift of the American people. And although he received the second highest number of the popular vote, he was the lowest in the electoral college.

At the bar, in the popular assembly, in the legislature, upon the bench, in this House, in the Senate of the United States, Mr. DOUGLAS had no superior and but few equals. In all the positions he has held he has been found equal to the duties attending them, and adequate to any emergency that arose. He had all the essential elements for the jurist, the statesman, or the general. His intellect was stupendous. His quick perception grasped, his strong memory retained, and his ready logic commanded, immense resources of useful knowledge, gathered from all branches of the arts and sciences, from the history of the past and the active realities of the present.

In debate he rejected all rhetorical ornament, all ostentation and show. Stating his premises concisely, his reasoning led to his conclusion as irresistibly as the current of a strong and deep river tends to the sea. But it was when surrounded by friends in the social circle that he most happily and undesignedly exhibited the peculiarities of his great intellect; it was there that the fund of varied information was most drawn upon, and there that his great versatility was most brilliantly displayed. In his contests with political adversaries his beldness and fierceness had no parallel. Never halting in the strife to count losses, when the conflict was over he was ever ready to forget resentments and forgive injuries.

In his support of measures, he looked only to great principles, and cared nothing for details; he left them for others. If measures that he supported met the popular approval, he was contented to let others claim and enjoy the honors that resulted from them. If, however, measures which he had favored were distasteful or unpopular, he asked no man to share with him their responsibility. Whenever they were assailed he rushed to their defence, and endured whatever of obloquy attached to them. From his positions, when once assumed, no earthly power could drive him. In the defence of measures which met his approval, he was ready to meet an excited populace, a united Senate, an administration with a nation's patronage at its bid, or any combination, no matter how formidable. No power could intimidate him, no patronage corrupt him. More than any man I ever knew, he permitted himself to be assailed by falsehood and slander, when he had the means to refute

the one or silence the other. If the slander affected himself alone he was unmindful of it.

Dying at an age where the usefulness of statesmen usually begins, he leaves a fame that will outlive eulogies and survive monuments. Indissolubly connected with the great events of his time, his name will go down with our history to future generations.

Born in 1813, during the war between this country and England—a conflict between people speaking the same language and of a common origin, he died when the different sections of his own country were marshaling their armies in hostile array to engage in a fratricidal war. He saw his country advance to the highest elevation any had ever attained. He witnessed more of advancement, improvement, and progress, in all that is calculated to elevate mankind and nations, than has belonged to any one age of the world's history. He contemplated with patriotic pride the happiness of our people, and the grandeur and glory of our country.

I formed Mr. DOUGLAS's personal acquaintance during his first contest for office. We entered public life together. For more than a quarter of a century we were friends without the slightest interruption. That friendship survives one grave, it will close with two. He was a noble and generous friend.

But, Mr. Speaker, the language of eulogy fails to furnish a fitting tribute upon this occasion. One word relative to his last days and the family circle so rudely sundered.

I shall not trust myself with the delicate office of offering consolation within the sacred precincts of that home which is now desolate. God alone can heal the

hearts there wounded. The words of "dying men enforce attention;" but never, among all the great men that have passed to the grave, has one's last words been more impressive, more grandly patriotic, than the last message of Mr. DOUGLAS to his children: "Tell them to support the Constitution and the laws." At the same time, while these eloquent words inculcate the duty of every citizen, they announce in a brief but grand epitome the labors and aspirations of a well-spent lifetime.

I offer, for the adoption of the House, the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the House of Representatives of the United States has received, with deepest sensibility, intelligence of the death of STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

Resolved, That the officers and members of the House of Representatives will wear the usual badge of mourning for thirty days, as a testimony of the profound respect this House entertains for the memory of the deceased.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this House in relation to the death of STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS be communicated to the family of the deceased by the Clerk.

Resolved, That, as a further mark of respect for the memory of the deceased, the House do now adjourn.

Address of MR. McCLEARNAND, of Illinois.

MR. SPEAKER: I rise with a heavy heart to second the motion of my distinguished colleague. Duty to myself, as well as to my constituents, requires me to do so. Much that I would be pleased to say under other circumstances must be forborne now, in view of what has already been said so well by my colleague, and what

will probably be said by others more able to do the subject justice than myself.

Addressing myself to the resolutions offered by my colleague, I feel that they have a deeper and more real significance than any mere ceremony or empty pageant. Their source and their language bespeak them to be a heartfelt effusion. As the official expression of a nation's grief, they are all worthy of the approbation of this House; and will they not receive it? Alas! a great woe broods over the land; a deep gloom veils the social and political sky! What is the cause of this melancholy change? Why these tokens of sadness and sorrow? Why these mourning cities and towns; these shrouded busts of one unmistakable man; these solemn knelling bells; these plaintive strains of martial music; these quick-pealing minute guns; this suspension of a nation's occupations and pursuits; this universal lamentation? Why all this? What great calamity has occasioned it? The answer comes up from all sides—as well from the shores of the Pacific as from those of the Atlantic and the Mississippi; from mountain and valley; from city and hamlet; from every inhabited spot within the broad limits of the Republic, the universal answer comes—“A great man has fallen; the American Tribune is no more; STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, the orator and statesman, is dead.” This is the explanation—the explanation of a nation's grief—of the tokens of sorrow which everywhere surround us—of the distress depicted upon the countenances of this assembly.

How fearfully and wonderfully are we made! Lately my long-cherished friend, Mr. DOUGLAS, was a strong, robust man, capable of performing almost any amount

of labor, and of enduring almost any amount of hardship. His physical and intellectual powers had just culminated in glorious maturity, and gave as much assurance of long life as almost any of us may justly claim; yet now he has passed away from the earth forever. The ruthless shaft of death, ever seeking a shining mark, has laid him low, and the brave, strong man is committed to the silent tomb. No more will we see his large, dark-gray eye flash with the radiance of genius, and glare with the intensity of fixed and unswerving purpose. No longer will his eloquent voice be heard in the Senate Chamber, or by admiring and captivated multitudes. No more will his strongly-marked Jove-like head, with its lion mane, shake defiance at beleaguering assailants. No more will his restless, fruitful brain invent and forge the terrible weapons with which he was wont to subdue his adversaries. Alas! the body of the great man has gone to decay; while his immortal spirit, as a spark first radiating from the Divine essence, has returned to its original source. Like the greatest of the Homeric heroes, whom Providence "doomed to early death," so, too, the younger DOUGLAS was cut off in the very vigor of manhood and the meridian of life. Indeed are the ways of Providence "unsearchable and past finding out." Man is here to-day and gone to-morrow; as the transient grass, "In the morning it springeth up and flourisheth; in the evening it is cut down and withereth."

But, sir, we must not confine ourselves entirely to expressions of grief, nor deal in general terms of eulogy, if we would do justice to Mr. DOUGLAS's character. To estimate his merits as one of the first statesmen of his time, we must not forget the many and formidable

obstacles he had to overcome, particularly in his early life. Left an orphan, without fortune or influential friends, in his very infancy—like Jackson, Clay, and other self-made personages—he had to rely upon himself for success. Like Plato, he may have believed that a mechanical as well as a scholastic education was necessary to qualify a ruler of the people to wield political power wisely and beneficently. At all events, after learning a mechanical trade, and obtaining, as far as his limited means would allow, an imperfect education, he resolved to leap into the great battle of life, and, if possible, to win the laurel of the victor and hero.

In answer to the interrogatory, Whither he should direct his footsteps? he could not long hesitate. Such a man rarely hesitates. Looking towards the setting sun, he saw there nature displayed in boundless grandeur. He saw there the great valley of the Mississippi, described by the enthusiastic De Tocqueville as “the most magnificent region provided by God for man’s abode.” He saw there, too, as the most attractive portion of that valley, the “Great West,” with her giant forests and verdant prairies—with her turbid rivers and glassy lakes; and grasping by intuition her hidden resources and prospective development, he determined to make it his home. Hence, soon we find him an actual resident of the charming village of Jacksonville, in Illinois. Besides the general attractions of the West, it may be supposed that a congenial affinity between genius and natural beauty attracted him to this spot; for we are informed that it was a vivid picture of it and the surrounding country delineated by an admiring Scotch tourist that first bent his footsteps thither.

Arriving at Jacksonville, in his twentieth year, he was a stranger in a strange land—a wanderer reduced to his last shilling, and with no other resource than his own energies to save him from impending destitution. What was the result? Did the pale, slight youth despair; or, yielding to tempting want, did he repress the noble aspirations of his soul, and divert his talents to some mean and dependent occupation? Was he content to ignore his destiny? Not so; but finding himself unable to acquit his unavoidable personal expenses at Jacksonville by anything that he could do, he immediately set out on foot for Winchester, a village some seventeen miles distant, and reached there the same day. Here his adverse fortunes ceased to persecute him; and in anticipation of his rising fortune, men said of him:

“This dawn
Will widen to a clear and boundless day;
And when it ripens to a sumptuous west,
With a great sunset ’twill be closed and crowned.”

Here he found remunerative employment, both as a lawyer and as a teacher. Henceforth, he becomes a man of mark and note. Henceforth, every obstacle to his advancement pales and vanishes before the glowing fire of his long repressed genius, and as a dazzling orb he courses the political and professional firmaments, drawing after him the wondering gaze of admiring multitudes.

Filling every office in the gift of his adopted State, from that of district attorney to that of Senator in Congress, which he chose to ask or accept, he died her boasted and favorite son. Long will his memory

be cherished by her as one of the brightest ornaments of her noble escutcheon. Reflecting honor upon him, so he, in turn, reflected honor upon her; and forever will the names of Illinois and DOUGLAS be linked together upon the page of history. DOUGLAS and Hardin, his heroic rival, of all her representative men, are the most endeared to her affection. To both she has given honored graves—to one as the champion of her rights in the councils of the nation, to the other as the champion of her loyalty upon the field of battle. To the fame of both she will proudly continue to point, as the mother of the Gracchi, to her children as her jewels—as the proofs of her wealth.

As the career of Mr. DOUGLAS as a statesman forms a brilliant and familiar portion of the history of our country, it will be unnecessary to do more than to glance at it. As a public man, he was prompt, enterprising, and persistent. At the very outset of his legislative career, he identified his name with two of the most popular and useful public works in Illinois, by proposing, as a member of her legislature, a series of resolutions recommending their early construction. I refer to the Illinois and Michigan canal, which opens up a communication between the waters flowing into the Gulf of Mexico and those flowing into the Gulf St. Lawrence; and to the Illinois Central railroad, which furnishes an overland connection between the upper Mississippi and Lake Michigan and the main Mississippi at Cairo. And afterwards he materially contributed to the completion of the latter improvement, by his influence as a Senator of the United States, in procuring the grant of land made by Congress for that purpose. This was a

proud triumph of persevering statesmanship, and will long endure as a worthy monument to his fame. Its priceless benefits are, to-day, hailed by all Illinoisans as marking a new and joyous era in the history of their beloved State.

But, as I have already said, I have not time to dwell upon particulars. It will be enough to say that no man of his time took a more active or conspicuous part in public affairs than he did. His name stands prominently connected with every important question of public policy, whether of a domestic or of foreign character, which has arisen within the last eighteen years. He favored the annexation of Texas; he opposed the dismemberment of Oregon; he voted for the compromise measures of 1850, looking to the settlement of the slavery question; he advocated the repeal of the Missouri restriction and the uniform organization of all our territorial governments upon the principle of popular sovereignty; he opposed the admission of Kansas into the Union under the Lecompton constitution.

Again: he urged the compromise of the slavery question and our sectional differences, at the last session of Congress, as the alternative of civil war; and when armed rebellion arose against the government, he appealed to the patriotism of the people to put it down by overwhelming force. Standing upon the "Monroe doctrine," he was ever jealous of monarchical influence upon the American continent; and hence always protested against any colonization of any portion of it by any European or other transmarine Power. In the mean time, not forgetting the material interests of his country, he zealously advocated all those measures of

internal improvement, which he deemed of a national character and necessary to the welfare of the country.

The project of a railroad to the shores of the Pacific had no more ardent supporter than himself. He looked upon it as a bond necessary to consolidate the different and distant portions of the Republic as one homogeneous and harmonious social and commercial whole; and the popularity of the measure, at this time, is no doubt as much the result of his commendation as of that of any other man, not excepting even the lamented Benton.

As a debater, Mr. DOUGLAS was great, truly great, in the dexterous use of passing facts and familiar circumstances. In this he was probably greater than any of his illustrious cotemporaries. This was the type of his mind—it was his forte. Less eloquent than Clay, less logical than Webster, less versatile than Benton, he was the superior of them all in the readiness of his intellect and the distinctness and clearness of his statements, as a public speaker. More like Silas Wright, the great New York statesman, he was always unostentatious, copious, clear, and forcible. As an *extempore* speaker, his capabilities were transcendent and amazing, and unquestionably place him in the first rank of debaters of any age or country.

As an orator, his manner was peculiar to himself. Although possessing but little of the qualities of the rhetorician, and still less of the art of the theatrical declaimer, yet his action was far from ungraceful, while his voice was singularly full and sonorous. What he lacked as a rhetorical declaimer he more than made up by the earnestness and vehemence of his delivery. Like Demosthenes, whose style he appears to have cultivated,

he was always in earnest, ever on fire. His power over his hearers was often demonstrated by his success in swaying Senators and controlling the violence of the populace.

One of his first efforts as an orator is one of the best he ever made. I refer to his speech, as a member of this House, in favor of the bill refunding the fine imposed by Judge Hall on General Jackson, at New Orleans, in 1815, for refusing to produce, in obedience to a writ of *habeas corpus*, Louallier, who had been arrested under martial law upon a charge of treason against the United States. The theme was a great one, and inspired the speaker with grand and noble thoughts, which he poured forth in rapid and resistless volume. He discussed and distinguished the rights of peace and the rights of war, the law of deliberation, volition, and choice, and the paramount law of necessity. All the fire and enthusiasm of his ardent nature were infused into his impetuous yet logical appeals, until the storm of his eloquence and the accumulated weight of his argument carried the House captive, and thrilled the whole country with generous emotion.

The success of this effort may be judged by the grateful response that it elicited from General Jackson himself, when afterwards Mr. DOUGLAS, for the first time, met him at the Hermitage. Taking him by the hand, the venerable hero said:

“I am glad to see you, Mr. DOUGLAS. You comprehended my situation at New Orleans. Martial law was a necessity there, and I took the responsibility of declaring it. If I had shrunk from doing so, and harm had accrued to the country, I would have proved myself unequal to the emergency, and unworthy of the trust reposed in me.

It was upon that ground—the necessity of the case—that you justified my conduct; and I thank you, sincerely thank you, for it.”

Other instances, too, of his oratorical success might be adduced: as his defence of the compromise measures of 1850, at Chicago, amid the blazing effigies of his own person, and regardless of the threats of the enraged populace. Like Mark Anthony, over the dead body of Caesar, he melted the savage fury of the rabble into the softness of contrition and tears. Like the Tribune Rienzi, he appealed to the patriotism and sense of duty of the people through the images and examples of their departed benefactors, which he set before them with all the charms of eloquent and impassioned delineation; and they heard him and were convinced. Never was there a grander triumph of natural eloquence pleading the cause of truth and justice. Mr. Webster thanked him on behalf of the nation for this noble and heroic effort. I might also refer to the frequent discussions between him and President Lincoln as affording kindred examples of the celebrated contests of the fabled giants of antiquity. As the acknowledged champions of opposing parties, they often met in intellectual combat, while each, by his skill and prowess, won the applause of his admiring friends.

Defeating Mr. Lincoln in their memorable contest for the Senate, in 1858, yet the latter gained, from defeat by such a man, the distinction which afterwards assisted him to the Presidency.

Mr. DOUGLAS, as a Democrat of deep and earnest convictions, was not unfrequently an ardent and active partisan, yet he never found it impossible to subordinate his party feelings and purposes to the higher

dictates of public duty. We have a noble instance of this in the fact that, although defeated by Mr. Lincoln for President, he voluntarily went forward and offered him the assistance of his counsels and co-operation in the interest of the Constitution and the Union. Noble conduct—all worthy of imitation! How unlike that of the brave but jealous Achilles, who withdrew from the service of his country rather than yield to a preferred rival!

Before this House or in this city, where all loved and admired him, it were needless to dwell on his remarkable colloquial powers, and his other innumerable social gifts and virtues; on his generosity unostentatiously displayed in acts of charity; his well-known generous and princely hospitality; the gravity and dignity of his manner, ever softened by cordial warmth and urbanity; the goodness of his heart; or his unwavering kindness as a husband, a father, and a friend. All know how fully the greatness of his mind was matched by the elevation of his character, and this knowledge adds immeasurably to the universal grief at the loss of one so endowed. Great intellects mark the epochs of the world. They frequently flourish as cotemporaries and follow each other in quick succession to the grave. As new and shining constellations, they suddenly appear in the moral firmament, and, after burning with a dazzling light for a season, disappear, leaving a gloomy void, and only reappear to inspire and illuminate the world again at some remote and uncertain period. Calhoun, Webster, Clay, and Benton flourished together in the same land, and passed away at short intervals of time. DOUGLAS, the champion of American liberty, dies in the New World,

and Count Cavour, the champion of Italian liberty, dies soon after in the Old.

The Romans had a generous maxim that nothing but good should be said of the dead. And what else may be truthfully said of the lamented Senator? Never in this or any other country was there a man whose eminent merits were recognised with more striking unanimity, or whose value in such an hour of need was more generally appreciated. Glorious in life, he was also glorious in the extremity of death. Who but those who were present with him during his last days can tell how many sublime expressions fell from his emphatic lips as he lay upon his last bed? With what patience and resignation did he bear the torture of a protracted illness! With what calmness did he bear the warning of his approaching doom! With what solemnity, as he paused in the shadow of the coming gloom of the grave, did he murmur the awful words, "death! death! death!" With what simple sublimity of natural feeling did he ask to be raised on his pillow, that, like the German poet, he might for the last time admire the face of nature! What unutterable thoughts must have flashed across his prophetic mind as he thus surveyed the surrounding prospect!

Before him lay the great lake, solemn, silent, and calm—like that great ocean on which he must sail so soon, reflecting the sublime serenity of that Heaven on which his soul reposed in trembling hope. There lay the groves and prairies in all their floral beauty and variegated verdure. There, like a young queen viewing her charms in the smooth mirror of the lake, rose the city of Chicago, which he had honored as the place of

his abode, and which, so young, so full of promise and of hope, in that solemn moment, silently and gratefully acknowledged the dying patriot as her chief benefactor.

Who can read without emotion of his last legacy to his dear children, when, like the father of the infant Hannibal, leading him to the altar to swear eternal enmity to his country's foes, he said with his last breath: "Tell them to obey the laws, and defend the Constitution." Oh, what a commentary on his life of patriotic devotion! Love of country, the leading passion of his soul, triumphed even in the embrace of death. The last faint words of Napoleon, "*Tête d'Armée*," betokened a spirit still busy with the work of ambition; but the last words of DOUGLAS disclosed the exalted principles of the patriot and statesman.

May his countrymen ever remember his dying counsels, and so well maintain the Constitution which he loved, that, by the reunion of the divided members of our Republic, they who drew from his noble life so many political blessings, may receive a great benefit even from his lamented and untimely death!

Address of MR. CRITTENDEN, of Kentucky.

MR. SPEAKER: I have only a few words to say. Another of the great men of our country has passed away. Since the last adjournment of Congress, a few months since, the honorable Senator DOUGLAS has fallen into the grave. I do not stand here, sir, in imagination

by the side of that grave, to use the language of flattery. I do not rise, sir, for the purpose of lavishing praises to his memory. That will belong to the impartial history of his time. When the history of this country shall be written, recorded honors will cluster around his name. Mr. Speaker, the death of Mr. DOUGLAS struck a heavy blow on the American heart; and his memory is embalmed in the hearts of his countrymen. I have witnessed few occasions, in the course of my life, when there has been any greater exhibition of public sorrow.

Sir, I was well acquainted with Mr. DOUGLAS. We were kept apart for a long period of the time that we both served in the National Councils by our political differences. But for the last four or five years of Mr. DOUGLAS's life we were associated personally and politically, and I had an opportunity of becoming well acquainted with the man; and in all my intercourse of an intimate character with him, while we agreed in politics and acted together, I found him to be an honorable and patriotic man, disinterested and noble in his patriotism, and ready to sacrifice his personal interests for the good of his country. This I can testify from my knowledge of his character. Mr. DOUGLAS was an extraordinary and remarkable man. Not favored by fortune in the earlier periods of his life, belonging, as I understand, to the humble but worthy class of the mechanic, he raised himself by his own exertions to the high position which he occupied. It seemed to me that Mr. DOUGLAS's mind expanded with his increasing elevation; and I know of no man in this country now left who is better entitled to the denomination of statesman than was Mr. DOUGLAS

at the time of his death. He was honest, generous, patriotic in all his actions and purposes. He was ambitious, but he sought to attain eminence by public services. There have been times when I thought less favorably of him. But my opportunities of knowing him better enabled me to correct my error in regard to his character; and I speak but what I truly believe when I bear this testimony to his worth. His mind expanded and improved step by step as he advanced in life; and his country sustained a great loss in his death, at a time like this, when it is surrounded by peril and disaster.

I know of no man who might have been more useful in this crisis. There are few who had so much of the confidence of his countrymen, and who combined with it such a capacity for controlling and leading them. Sir, as a friend, I mourn him; as an American citizen, I mourn him. And it is right that we should give this recorded evidence here, of our sympathy and regret for his early death. He was young when he died; but to the young, death is not always a calamity. In most instances, perhaps, it ought to be regarded philosophically as more of a blessing than the life which is taken. He died young, in the meridian of his life, in his palmy days; leaving his country mourning, and the heart of his agonized widow filled with an incurable sorrow. But, sir, there is a Power above us all, and I trust that that God, who tempers the wind to the shorn lamb, will take care of the widow and the fatherless.

Address of Mr. Cox, of Ohio.

MR. SPEAKER: Ohio is not separated from Kentucky, either in the estimate of Judge Douglas which has been so eloquently pronounced by the distinguished statesman [Mr. Crittenden] who has just taken his seat, or in the grief which has been expressed for the premature closing of his illustrious career. That career closed with the opening of this eventful summer. It abounded in friendships, services, and ambitions. It ended while he was enjoying the tumult of universal acclaim, and when all felt the need of its continuance. Labor paused in its toil, bankers shut their offices and merchants their stores, lawyers and judges adjourned their courts, ministers added new fervor to prayer, partisans united in hushed regret, and soldiers draped the flag in crape, to bear their part in the great grief of the nation. He died in the midst of the people who had honored him for a generation; in the city whose growth had been fostered by his vigilance; in the State whose prairies were familiar to his eye from earliest manhood; and in that great Northwest, whose commercial, agricultural, physical, and imperial greatness was the pride of his heart and the type of his own character. There was in him a quick maturity of growth, a fertility of resource, and a sturdiness of energy, which made his life the microcosm of that great section with which he was so closely identified.

That mind which had few equals and that will which had no conqueror, save in the grave, were at last wrung from his iron frame. It is hard to believe that he lies

pulseless in his sepulchre at Cottage Grove. It is sad to feel that the summer wind which waves the grass and flowers of his loved prairies has, in its low wail, an elegy to the departed statesman. Well might the waters of the lake, just before his death, as if premonitory of some great sacrifice, swell in mysterious emotion. These poor panegyrics, from manuscript and memory, fail to express the loss which those feel who knew him best. One would wish for the eloquence of Bossuet, or the muse of Spenser or Tennyson, to tell, in the poetry of sorrow, the infinite woe which would wreak itself upon expression.

For weeks the public have mourned him as a loss so grievous as to be irreparable in this trying time of the Republic. The lapse of time only adds to the weight of the bereavement. The tears which fell around his bedside and on his bier still

“Weep a loss forever new.”

With every passing day we turn, but turn in vain, to catch his hopeful tone, his discriminating judgment, his philosophic foresight, and his courageous patriotism. They only come to us in memory and in mourning. His lips are sealed, his eye is dim, his brain is shrouded, his heart is still; and the nation stands with throbbing heart at his grave. “His virtue is treasured in our hearts; his death in our despair.” It is no mere ceremonial, therefore, that the national legislature, in whose counsels he has taken so prominent a part, should pause, even in extraordinary session, to bestow that homage which friendship, intellect, and patriotism, ever offer to the true man, the gifted soul, and the enlightened statesman.

Judge DOUGLAS struggled into greatness. He had no

avenue to honor except that which was open to all. The power and patronage which aided him, he created; and the wealth which he made and spent so freely, came from no ancestral hand. Part teacher and part cabinet maker, he left the East for the ruder collisions of border life. There he grew up under the adversities which strengthened him into a vigorous and early maturity. His own manhood soon made itself felt. He became the political necessity of his State. He filled many of its most important offices before he became nationally known. The Democratic people of the Union were soon attracted to him. As early as 1848 they began to think of him as their candidate for President; while, in 1852, the Democratic Review hailed him as the coming man; a man who had no grandfather or other incident of biographical puffery; as one whose genealogical tree had been sawed up; as a graduate from the university of the lathe; as one with the materials, the mind, and the energy, to shape, fashion, and make enduring, a platform of his own.

No notice of STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS is complete which does not remark upon the singular magnetism of his personal presence, the talismanic touch of his kindly hand, the gentle amenities of his domestic life, and the ineradicable clasp of his friendships. It may not be improper to refer to the fact, that I was one among the many young men of the west, who were bound to him by a tie of friendship and a spell of enthusiasm which death has no power to break. These are the pearls beneath the rough shell of his political life. There are many here who will understand me, when I recall the gentle tone and the cordial greeting with

which he used to woo and win and hold the young partisans of his faith, and the warm promoters of his success. Ever ready with his counsel, his means, and his energies, he led them as much by the persuasiveness of his heart as the logic of his head. The same gentle demeanor which fondled his children and taught them a beauty of manners beyond all praise, the same pure respect and tenderness with which he treated his noble wife and companion, silvered the cords of attachment which bound his friends to him, and made his home at Washington and his sojourns elsewhere, recollections as sweet as memory can embalm.

While others bear testimony to his moral heroism, intellectual prowess, fixedness of principle, and unstained patriotism, it seems that his spirit, if it hovers over this scene of his obsequies, would receive with purest delight these tributes of friendly affection. I recall in my own experience, which runs with unbroken association of friendship with him from the first year of my political life, many of his acts of unselfish devotion, many words outspoken to the public, which the mere designing politician would not have uttered, and many tenders of aid and counsel, which were the more grateful because unsought, and the more serviceable because they came from him. It is one of the felicities of my life, that I have been the recipient of his kindness and confidence; and that the people whom I represent were cherished by him, as he was by them, with the steadfastness of unalloyed devotion.

It was his pleasure very often to sojourn in the capital city of Ohio, where, regardless of party, the people paid him the respect due to his character and services.

Among the last of the associations which he had with Ohio was his address, a few weeks before his death, to the people at its capital, on the invitation of the State legislature. His stirring tones still thrill upon the air, protesting for the right and might of the Great West to egress through our rivers and highways to the sea against all hostile obstruction, and for the maintenance of the government, threatened by the great revolution which yet surrounds us.

His last utterance was the fit climax of a life devoted to the study of this government, and of a patriotism which never swerved from its love for the Union. It was worth whole battalions of armed men. A word from him made calm from tempest, and resolved doubt into duty. His thought swayed the tides of public opinion as vassals to his will. After his hot contests in the Senate, during the first session of the last Congress; after his Harper essay in development of his political theories; after his heroic campaign in the South, closing at Norfolk in his courageous reply to the questions of the disunionists; after his struggles of last winter, when he strung his energies to the utmost in pleading for peace and conciliation; after all had failed, and anarchy stalked with haughty head through the land, and even jeopardized this metropolis of the nation, it was the consummate glory of his life to have given his most emphatic utterance for the maintenance of the government, even though its administration was committed to his old political antagonist, and although he knew that such expression imperiled the lives of a hundred thousand of his friends.

Scarcely with any of our public men can DOUGLAS

be compared. The people like to compare him to Jackson, for his energy and honesty. He was like the great triumvirate—Clay, Webster, and Calhoun—but “like in difference.” Like them in his gift of political foresight, still he had a power over the masses possessed by neither. Like Clay in his charm to make and hold friends and to lead his party; like Webster in the massive substance of his thought, clothed in apt political words; like Calhoun in the tenacity of his purpose and the subtilty of his dialectics; he yet surpassed them all in the homely sense, the sturdy strength, and indomitable persistence with which he wielded the masses and electrified the Senate.

In the onslaught of debate he was ever foremost; his crest high and his falchion keen. Whether his antagonists numbered two or ten, whether the whole of the Senate were against him, he could “take a raking fire at the whole group.” Like the shrouded Junius, he dared Commons, Lords, and King to the encounter; but unlike that terrible Shadow, he sought no craven covert, but fought in the open lists, with a muscular and mental might which defied the unreasoning cries of the mob, and rolled back the thunders of the Executive anathema!

DOUGLAS was no scholar, in the pedantic sense of the term. His reading was neither classical nor varied. Neither was he a sciolist. His researches were ever in the line of his duty, but therein they were thorough. His library was never clear from dust. His favorite volume was the book of human nature, which he consulted without much regard to the binding. He was skilled in the contests of the bar; but he was more than

a lawyer. He easily separated the rubbish of the law from its essence. As a jurist, his decisions were not essays; they had in them something *decisive*, after the manner of the best English judges. As a legislator, his practicalness cut away the entanglements of theoretic learning and ancient precedent, and brought his mind into the presence of the thing to be done or undone. Hence he never criticised a wrong for which he did not provide a remedy. He never discussed a question that he did not propose a measure.

His style was of that plain and tough fibre which needed no ornament. He had a felicity in the use of political language never equaled by any public man. He had the right word for the right place. His interrogative method, and his ready and fit replies, gave dramatic vivacity to his debates. Hence the newspapers readily copied them and the people retentively remembered them. Gleams of humor were not infrequent in his speeches, as in his conversation. His logic had the reach of the rifled cannon, which annihilated while it silenced the batteries of his opponents.

DOUGLAS was a partisan; but he never wore his party uniform when his country was in danger. His zeal, like all excess, may have had its defect; but to him who observes the symmetry and magnanimity of his life, it will appear that he always strove to make his party conservative of his country.

The tenacity with which he clung to his theory of territorial government, and the extension of suffrage, on local questions, from State to Territory, and the absolute non-intervention by Congress for the sake of peace and union, while it made him enemies, increased the admini-

ration of his friends. His nature shines out with its loftiest grace and courage in his debates on these themes, so nearly connected as he thought them with the stability of the Republic.

If it be, that every true man is himself a cause, a country, or an age; if the height of a nation is the altitude of its best men, then, indeed, are these enlarged liberalities, which are now fixed as American institutions, but the lengthened shadow of STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS. This is the cause—self-government in State and Territory—with which he would love most to be identified in his country's history. He was ready to follow it to any logical conclusion, having faith in it as a principle of repose, justice, and union.

Placed at the head of the Territorial Committee, it was his hand which, on this basis, fashioned Territory after Territory, and led State after State into the Union. The latest constellation formed by California, Iowa, Oregon, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and I may add Kansas, received their charter to shine and revolve under his hand. These States, faithful to his fostering, will ever remain as monuments of his greatness!

His comprehensive forecast was exhibited in his speech on the Clayton and Bulwer treaty, on the 4th of March, 1853; wherein he enforced a continental policy suitable and honorable to the New World and its destiny, now so unhappily obscured. That speech was regarded by Judge DOUGLAS as among the most valuable, as I think it the most finished and cogent speech of his life. His philippic against England, which to-day has its vindication in her selfish conduct towards us, will remind the scholar of Demosthenes,

while his enlarged philosophy has the sweep and dignity of Edmund Burke. It was this speech which gave to DOUGLAS the heart of Young America. He refused to prescribe limits to the area over which Democratic principles might safely spread. "I know not what our destiny may be." "But," he continued, "I try to keep up with the spirit of the age; to keep in view the history of the country; see what we have done, whither we are going, and with what velocity we are moving, in order to be prepared for those events which it is not in the power of man to thwart." He would not then see the limits of this giant Republic fettered by treaty; neither would he, in 1861, see them curtailed by treachery. If he were alive to-day, he would repeat with new emphasis his warning against England and her unforgiving spite, wounded pride, and selfish policy. When, in 1847, he advocated the policy of terminating her joint occupation with us of Oregon, he was ready to back it by military force; and if war should result, "we might drive Great Britain and the last vestiges of royal authority from the continent of North America, and make the United States an ocean-bound Republic!"

With ready tact and good sense, he brought to the fiscal and commercial problems of the country views suitable to this age of free interchange and scientific advancement.

His position on the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate gave him a scope of view abroad, which was enriched by European travel and historic research, and which he ever used for the advancement of our flag and honor among the nations. His knowledge of our domes-

tic troubles, with their hidden rocks and horrid breakers, and the measures he proposed to remove them, show that he was a statesman of the highest rank, fit for calm or storm.

Some have lamented his death now as untimely and unfortunate for his own fame, since it has happened just at the moment when the politician was lost in the patriot, and when he had a chance to atone for past error by new devotion.

Mr. Speaker, men do not change their natures so easily. The DOUGLAS of 1861 was the DOUGLAS of 1850, 1854, and 1858. The patriot who denounced this great rebellion was the patriot in every fold and lineament of his character. There is not a page of his history that we can afford to blot. The words which escaped him in the delirium of his last days—when he heard the “battle afar off, the thunder of the captains, and the shouting”—were the key note to a harmonious life.

Observant of the insidious processes North and South which have led us to this civil war, he ever strove, by adjustment, to avoid their disastrous effects. History will be false to her trust, if she does not write that STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS was a patriot of matchless purity, and a statesman who, foreseeing and warning, tried his utmost to avert the dangers which are now so hard to repress. Nor will she permit those who now praise his last great effort for the Union to qualify it, by sinister reflections upon his former conduct; for thus they tarnish the lustre of a life devoted, in peace and war, to the preservation of the Union. His fame never had eclipse. Its disk has been ever bright to the eye of history. It

sank below the horizon, like the sun of the Morea, full-orbed, and in the full blaze of its splendor.

How much we shall miss him here! How can we, his associates, do without his counsel? No longer does the murmur go round that DOUGLAS is speaking in the Senate! No longer does the House become quorumless to listen to his voice! His death is like the dissolution of a political organism. Indeed, we could better afford to lose a sphere of stars from our flag; for these might wander to return. But DOUGLAS cannot be brought back to us. He who had such a defiant power, with the "thews of Anakim and the pulses of a Titan's heart," has gone upon a returnless journey. How much shall we miss him *now*! We have so long regarded the political, social, geographical, and commercial necessities to which our government was adapted as rendering it eternal, that its present condition calls for new and rare elements of statesmanship. Are we equal to the time and the trust? Oh, for a Clay, a Webster, a DOUGLAS, in this great ordeal of constitutional freedom! While the country is entangled by these serpents of revolution, we shall miss the giant—the Hercules of the West—whose limbs had grown sinewy in strangling the poisonous brood.

Who is left to take his place? Alas! he has no successor. His eclipse is painfully palpable, since it makes more obscure the path by which our alienated brethren may return. Many Union men, friends of DOUGLAS in the South, heard of his demise as the death-knell of their loyal hope. Who, who can take his place? The great men of 1850, who were his mates in the Senate, are gone, we trust, to that better Union

above, where there are no distracting counsels; all, all gone! All! No! thank Heaven! Kentucky still spares to us one of kindred patriotism, fashioned in the better mold of an earlier day—the distinguished statesman who has just spoken, [Mr. Crittenden]—whose praise of DOUGLAS living I loved to quote, and whose praise of DOUGLAS dead, to which we have just listened, *laudari a viro laudato*, is praise indeed. Crittenden still stands here, lifting on high his whitened head, like a Pharos in the sea, to guide our storm-tossed and storm-tattered vessel to its haven of rest. His feet tread closely upon the retreating steps of our statesman of the West. In the order of nature, we cannot have him long. Already his hand is outstretched into the other world to grasp the hand of DOUGLAS! While we have him, let us heed his warning, learn from his lips the lessons of moderation and loyalty of the elder days, and do all, and do it nobly, for our beloved Republic.

In conclusion, sir, we can only worthily praise STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS by doing something to carry out the will which he left his children and his country:

“LOVE AND UPHOLD THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.”

I speak it all reverently, when I say that this was his religion. He had faith in that

“creed of creeds,
The loveliness of perfect deeds.”

I would not seek to disclose the future to which God has consigned him in the mysterious order of his providence; but such virtue as his cannot die. It begins to live most in death. Of it may be said, as the laureate of England sang, that transplanted human worth will

bloom, to profit, elsewhere. The distinguished gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. Crittenden] has alluded to the fact, that the mind of DOUGLAS expanded with his public service. It has been my own humble observation, sir, that he was one among the few public men who grew in moral height with mental breadth. Year after year inspired him with more of reverence and charity; while his "psalm of life" found expression in daily duty done. He never shrank from the dust and heat of active life. He most desired to live when dangers were gathering thickest. He would not ask from us to-day tears and complaints, but words which bear the spirit of great deeds—"tremendous and stupendous" efforts to save the government which he loved so well. We may toll the slow bell for his noble spirit; we may crape the arm in token of our woe; we may, while we think of the meannesses of our politics and the distractions of our country, congratulate him that he is wrapped in his shroud, forever safe in the memory of the just; but if we would worthily honor him, let us moderate the heats of party strife; enlarge our view of national affairs; emulate his clear-eyed patriotism, which saw in no section his country, but loved all sections alike; and hold up his life, so fruitful in wisdom beyond his years, for the admiration of the old; and picture him for the imitation of the young as that

"Divinely gifted man,
Whose life in low estate began;
Who grasped the skirts of happy chance,
Breasted the blows of circumstance,
And made by force his merit known;
And lived to clutch the golden keys,
To mold a mighty State's decrees,

And shape the whisper of the throne;
And moving up from high to higher,
Becomes, on fortune's crowning slope,
The pillar of a people's hope,
The centre of a world's desire!"

But, sir, no language, either in prose or verse, can portray the greatness of his loss. His fame is printed in the hearts of the people. From the green mountains of his native State to the white tops of the Pacific sierras, while the heavens bend above our land to bless it, the rivers roll and the mountains stand to unite it, or the ceaseless interchange of traffic and thought goes on by sea and rail, by telegraph and post,—the people of America, from whose midst, as a poor boy, by his own self-reliance, he sprung,—will preserve in the Pantheon of their hearts, to an immortal memory, the name of STEPHEN ARNOLD DOUGLAS.

Address of MR. DIVEN, of New York.

MR. SPEAKER: I do not rise to pronounce a eulogy upon the distinguished subject of these resolutions. It would ill become me after what has been said to attempt it. But, sir, there was that in the career of Mr. DOUGLAS to which I desire to pay a passing tribute, and from which I believe this Congress can draw profitable instruction. Sir, it was not my privilege to be ranked among his acquaintances. It was my duty, as I thought, to differ with him on the political questions about which the country was divided. That difference, sir, was an honest difference with me, and I doubt not it was with him.

There are questions about which the people of this Republic can and always will differ, and yet be loyal to their country. The trait in the character and life of Mr. DOUGLAS to which I wish to make particular allusion is this: that after he had gone through a heated contest for political honors—after he, on his part, had fought that contest with more than ordinary zeal—after he was defeated and his rival had secured the honors for which he had contended; when this country became distracted—when the steel of the conspirator was thrust at the very heart of our Republic—Mr. DOUGLAS was the patriot and the man to sink all party and to call all who would listen to his warning voice around the standard of his country.

Mr. Speaker, let us imitate his example in that. Our country is assailed by enemies. Its very existence is threatened. Men who have differed politically have united in its defence. Mr. DOUGLAS did all his part towards rallying those of his political sentiments to its defence—to sink all party differences; and to-day, Democrats, Republicans, Americans, adopted citizens, are in the field with their muskets, shoulder to shoulder, defending the institutions of our country. Let us, until this question of the supremacy of the Constitution be decided, in vindication of that Constitution and of law, like Mr. DOUGLAS, sink party; and let no voice in our national councils, until this question shall be settled, start any of the questions about which the country has been at variance, and about which we have differed. Not till we shall have vindicated the supremacy of our Constitution—not till the efforts of traitors shall be prostrated, and loyalty shall be restored—not till the desecrations of

our flag shall have been retrieved, and its folds shall again wave from every standard, from the Gulf to the British possessions—let a single question of political difference ever be revived.

Address of MR. ARNOLD, of Illinois.

MR. SPEAKER: On behalf of the many thousands of citizens of Illinois, who differed in political sentiments from Senator DOUGLAS, I have been selected to express their hearty approbation and concurrence in all the honors which can be paid to his memory.

The people of Illinois, a State which had been the theatre of his fiercest political contests, gathered with a common feeling of sorrow around his too early grave. Indeed, the sentiment of deep regret caused by his death pervades all classes and parties and divisions of our country, and finds an exception only among the *traitors* who are in arms against our flag.

On turning back a few pages of the nation's history, we find recorded the death of many of her distinguished statesmen. Many in this Hall will vividly remember the death of John Quincy Adams, of Henry Clay, of Thomas H. Benton, and Silas Wright. Yet I think the popular heart has responded with a feeling as profound, and as universal, at the death of DOUGLAS, as of either of these distinguished men.

He was a bold and self-relying man—a leader by nature; and has always been, from the commencement of his career, the prominent figure in Illinois politics. His death has removed from the political horizon a bril-

liant star from a singular constellation of prominent men.

About twenty years ago there practiced at the same bar, in the small town of Springfield, Illinois, a very remarkable combination of men. Among them Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States; STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS—not less distinguished; Lyman Trumbull, the eminent colleague of DOUGLAS; James Shields, who won a high reputation on the battle fields of Mexico, and in this Capitol; E. D. Baker, Senator from Oregon; John J. Hardin, who fell upon the bloody field of Buena Vista; James A. McDougall, Senator from California; O. H. Browning, the successor of Judge DOUGLAS. Besides these, there was the late Governor Bissell, whose eloquence, in vindication of the bravery of the Illinois volunteers against the aspersions of the traitor Davis, is still remembered in this House; and there was also Richard Yates, the present Governor of Illinois, and my distinguished friends and colleagues, Colonels Richardson and McClermand. Lincoln, DOUGLAS, Shields, Baker, Bissell, Hardin, Trumbull, Browning, McDougall, and others, all cotemporaries, form a combination not often seen around the pine table of a frontier court-house. Among them are names which Illinois will ever cherish—names which will brighten her history. These men, however they may have differed in the past, will be found to-day—those of them who survive—rallying like a band of brothers to sustain their country in this its hour of peril.

Among the many incidents in the life of DOUGLAS, upon which the people will linger with pleasure, are events growing out of the relations between him and the President of the United States. Those relations

were, in my opinion, alike honorable to the departed Senator and the living President.

The country knows they had long been rivals, the acknowledged leaders of their respective parties. They passed through the senatorial contest of 1858, (a contest which was really a battle of giants,) with their personal relations cordial and friendly.

The great presidential contest of 1860, in which victory changed from DOUGLAS to Lincoln, left them still friends. You, Mr. Speaker, and most of the members of this House, witnessed the graceful courtesies extended by the distinguished Senator to the President elect on his arrival here in February last. The conduct and bearing of DOUGLAS were certainly in the highest degree graceful and magnanimous.

None who witnessed it can ever forget the scene on the eastern portico of this Capitol, when Mr. Lincoln, in the presence of the Representatives of the people, assumed the sublime prerogatives of Government, and swore by the eternal God that he would faithfully support the Constitution and enforce the laws of his country. DOUGLAS, not by accident, stood by his side; and, in the midst of scowling traitors, whispered in the ear of the President that, come what might in the dark and cloudy future darkening before him, he would stand by the Government and strengthen its arm to crush treason and rebellion.

Nobly did the departed Senator redeem that pledge. He returned to Illinois, and at Springfield and Chicago, in his own bold and direct language, declared that there could be but two parties now—the patriots, who stood by their country and its flag, and the traitors, who were seeking to destroy it.

And it was for this, and because he rose from party to patriotism, that all the people gathered around his grave, and to-day mingle their regrets utterly forgetful of former party divisions.

Of the services he rendered to his country, I forbear to speak. History will do him justice. But there are two institutions of my own State with which his name will be forever associated. I refer to the Illinois Central Railroad and the Chicago University. As a representative of Illinois, I desire to express her grateful recognition of his most important aid rendered to these great and beneficent institutions; they will remain monuments to his memory more enduring than marble or brass.

He loved Illinois, and was filled with a generous ambition to advance her interests. He had a clear and strong appreciation of the necessity of the Union to secure her future greatness. Living near the great portage which divides the waters which flow into the Atlantic from those which, flowing west and south, find their outlet in the Gulf, he saw that the millions of freemen of the great Northwest could never permit themselves to be cut off either from the East or the South.

He well knew that Illinois, the fourth State in rank in the Union, the empire State of the Northwest, the young State that looks back on old Virginia, with her black burden, lagging far behind her—the State that treads hard upon the heels of Ohio and Pennsylvania, and that in the future challenges New York to a generous and friendly rivalry for imperial position—he knew, and felt, and expressed, her settled purpose never to permit a foreign nation to intervene between her and the mouth

of the great river which washes her western boundary. For this Illinois will cherish his memory as long as Lake Michigan shall roll her blue waves upon the shore where sleep his remains.

DOUGLAS died at a moment when he had the ability and the disposition to have rendered the greatest services to his country. He died on the eve of this grapple between government and anarchy—between law and lawlessness—between liberty and slavery—between civilization and barbarism; the result of which is to shape the destiny of this continent.

Had he lived he would have led this grand, sublime uprising of the people—this majestic popular movement now sweeping onward like the deep and resistless volume of waters of the great lakes over Niagara; he would have led it onward to crush and overthrow this wicked rebellion.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, had he lived until this day, there would have been heard in these Halls no voice louder, clearer, more emphatic than his, demanding action—*action—prompt, vigorous, decisive action.*

Address of MR. WALTON, of Vermont.

MR. SPEAKER: While many States are to-day assembled, through their representatives in the Senate and this House, as mourners at the loss of one who has achieved far more than ordinary honors in the public service, and a measure of popular admiration and attachment accorded to but few statesmen of his years in any age or nation,

there is one State distinguished from all others—I will not say by the sincerity of her grief, when all alike are sincerely grieved, but I may truly say for the singularity of her grief. A mother weeps for her son. His fame was national; Vermont remembers that hers is the parental share. His death, in the very crisis of a nation's fate, was a national calamity; but Vermont remembers that her loss is much more than the common share. Her son is dead. She clad herself in mourning on the announcement of what was, to human judgment, an untimely death; and all her children murmured the accents of sorrow. It is fit, then, to-day, for Vermont to join in these funereal honors; and, by my colleagues, it has been deemed most fit that I, as the representative of the district in which the deceased Senator was born, and of the people among whom he was bred, should at least offer a memorial tribute, however humble it may be.

STEPHEN ARNOLD DOUGLAS was born in Brandon, Rutland county, Vermont, on the 23d day of April, 1813. Then, more than now, that was a rural town; and though the father was a physician of good culture and in high repute, by his early death his son was left to those privileges only which the poorest can command, and he spent more than one third of his brief but eventful life attending the winter district school, and laboring steadily during the remainder of his time upon a farm and in a mechanic's shop. A single year of academical studies, being the eighteenth year of his life, and the year in which he received his bent and fixed his future professional career, completed the preparation given according to the then common usage of Vermont. It was no mean

preparation; for, allowing all that may be due to the peculiar qualities of the man—to his keen and powerful intellect, his unyielding will, and that audacity of bravery which distinguished him in every conflict—it was in his case peculiarly true, that “the boy was father to the man;” that the bent acquired in his youth, from the institutions and influences which surrounded him, marked him for life.

The town in which he was born, like every other in Vermont, and indeed each of the many school districts in the town, was an independent corporation for its appropriate purposes, with what, in strict propriety, may be called legislative powers, such as taxation, and the regulation of various matters of importance to the town and district; and the legislature of each was not a representative body, but a pure democracy, in which all the citizens met on equal terms and with an equal right to free discussion and action. These are privileges which touch the interests of all, and therefore demand intelligence, and put to practical and constant use the intellectual and moral qualities of the people. The demand stimulates the best supply to be attained, and by books and newspapers, by public discussions and fireside consultations, that supply is had. The fruit is an independent, intelligent, and energetic community, thoughtful of public affairs and familiar with public duties; a community, of which every man may tender what he will to the common weal, and he will be sure to be weighed in a just balance and counted for what he is worth. From such a school—the same in kind as those from which Vermont sends her sons and daughters throughout the land—STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS went out a Democrat,

as every native born and bred Vermonter is a Democrat. I say it in the strictest and purest sense of the word, not in a party sense, though in his case that was true; and I have sometimes fancied that even then that chord was strung which in late years sounded the rallying cry of his party—"the freedom of the people to regulate their domestic institutions in their own way." At least he went out with no doubt of his own rights; strong in the habit of self-reliance, with a taste for public affairs, and an aptitude for public service that was speedily and fortunately tested, and bent upon that intellectual culture which he had early learned to esteem as the best foundation for success. Having continued his classical studies until he had completed the usual college course, mingling with them the study of the law, at twenty years of age he found himself in Illinois, a schoolmaster; at twenty-one he was admitted to the bar of the supreme court of that State; at twenty-two he was elected State's attorney; at twenty-three he entered the legislature as a member of the House; at twenty-four he first entered the service of the Federal government, as register of a land office; in his twenty-seventh year he was appointed secretary of the State of Illinois, but was speedily elevated to the bench of the supreme court; in his thirtieth year he was elected to Congress, where he served until his thirty-third year, when he was transferred from the House to the Senate of the United States; and he was in his third term in that body when, in his forty-seventh year, he was nominated as the candidate of his party for the highest office within the gift of the nation, and stood second only in the choice of the people.

His career has been brilliant beyond all other exam-

ples in our political history. Swift and unbroken was his march from the obscurity of his old rural home to the post of championship in the Senate. Every step was triumphal; and every triumph gave new confidence, courage, and strength, for a larger endeavor and a more brilliant victory. Never but once, and at the last, did he fail, as if in him was to be the proof of the all but divine insight of the greatest poet of our race:

“Checks and disasters

Grow in the veins of actions highest rear’d.”

No! not at the last. I recall the words. The last trial was indeed his greatest victory. It has been the boast of his friends that he was pre-eminently a party man; and he himself undoubtedly had the fullest faith in both the invincibility and virtue of the party of which he had become the recognised head. More than others, then, he was the idol for party homage, and more than others the target to receive the shafts of party prejudice and malignity. If this be true, sir, his last conflict was with himself—his last victory the noblest for his fame. The patriot conquered the partisan. The last cry from his trumpet tongue announced the supremacy of patriotism over party, and summoned the legions of his loyal friends to the rescue of the country; and his dying message to his children enjoined perpetual fidelity to the Constitution and the Union. We mourn, then, not alone that a great man has fallen—we bring not here alone the cheap offerings of personal or party grief—we marshal not ourselves as friends and foes, bound in common decency to suspend the clash of conflict for the burial of the dead; but, bearing the heavy burden of a common woe, we mingle our tears over a patriot's grave.

Mr. Speaker, it is for others, who have been personal friends of the deceased, to utter the eulogies and sorrows of friendship; for others, who have been his associates in public life, to do justice to his public services; but for Vermont, let me say, that to-day there has been, and there can be, no measure of deserved praise that shall not touch her pride, and no wail of unfeigned sorrow that shall not reach her heart.

Address of MR. LAW, of Indiana.

MR. SPEAKER: Since the last meeting of Congress another great and good man—a patriot and statesman—has been gathered to his fathers. Year after year, as time rolls on, the country has been called on to mourn the loss of her most eminent men. In a little more than a decade, the Congress of the United States have paid funeral honors to Adams, to Clay, and to Webster—shining and bright lights in our political firmament; and now we are called to pay the last tribute to another, scarcely, if any, less distinguished than those who have gone before him.

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, Senator from Illinois, departed this life at Chicago on the 3d of June last. Born in Vermont, he emigrated to Illinois in 1833, before he had reached the age of manhood. Emigrating, as I did, a number of years before him, to the State of Indiana, locating on its western borders, at Vincennes, and practising in my profession as a lawyer in the border counties of Illinois, I soon made his acquaintance. I have known him long, and known him well, for a quarter

of a century; and during the whole of that period we have sustained towards each other the most intimate and friendly relations. Connected with him personally and politically for many years, I think I have a knowledge of the man which enables me to speak of him "the words of truth and soberness."

In the great and exciting political canvass of 1840 we were together, and I think his friends from Illinois, who have a recollection of that canvass, will confirm me in saying that the zeal with which Mr. DOUGLAS entered into it, and the spirit and energy with which he carried it on, gave the vote of Illinois—and the only one given in all the Northwestern States—to the Democratic candidate.

It is unnecessary for me to follow his career from that time up to his death; it forms a part, and a large part, of the history of the country. Suffice it to say, that the poor and penniless lad, who made his way, and for the most part on foot, from the workshop in Brandon, Vermont, to the small village of Winchester, in Illinois, where he kept school for a living, and read law in the intervals of teaching, up to the period of his decease, has had and enjoyed a popularity with the masses of the people, not only in his own State, but throughout the Union, that no man, perhaps with one exception, ever possessed in this country. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS was emphatically the "Tribune of the people." Elected to the legislature in 1835, Presidential elector in 1840, judge of the supreme court of Illinois in 1841, member of Congress in 1843, senator in 1847, re-elected in 1853, and again in 1859, no man, in this country or any other, without wealth or patronage, ever ran such a

career of honor or preferment. What an example to the rising generation of young men! What a stimulus should it offer to the poor but talented and ambitious lad, in a government like ours, that the path of fame and honor is as open to him as to his more fortunate companion having all the advantages which wealth and position can bestow!

Sir, I cannot conclude what little I have to say on this occasion, this national loss, without expressing my deep regret that the providence of God has called him from the midst of us at this most eventful period of our national history. My firm belief and opinion is, that, distracted and divided as we are, broken into separate confederacies, our Union endangered, engaged in a fratricidal war, citizen against citizen, brother against brother; that in the South as well as in the North, in the slave States as well as in the free, in every community where he was known—and where, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Bay of Fundy to the Gulf of Mexico, was he not known and loved?—the death of STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS is mourned and regretted. Why, sir, the very men who are now the leaders in the unhappy contest waging against us; here, sir, in this very Hall, as well as in the other end of the Capitol, so long as they remained true to the Constitution and the Union, so long as they remained true and faithful to the obligations they took as Senators and Representatives of the United States, acknowledged the purity of the man, the geniality of his temper, the goodness of his heart, his high sense of honor, his talents, his eloquence, his entire freedom from sectionality, his patriotism, his love of country. Do you believe,

sir, does any man believe, that treason and rebellion have so seared their hearts, so perverted their understanding and destroyed their feelings of gratitude, that they, even now, amid the clash of arms and the clang of battle, can forget the man who hazarded all—fame, fortune, political distinction, elevation to the first office in the gift of the Republic, loss of political friends, power, popularity—in boldly and manfully and nobly standing up for all the rights which the South could claim constitutionally or legally?

Sir, he hazarded all, he suffered all, because he believed he was right; and that he was right, all experience has proven. His doctrine of “non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the Territories” was the only safe solution of that exciting question; and I rejoice to know that he lived long enough to see the doctrine practically carried out by a Republican Congress, in the territorial admission of Nevada, Colorado, and Dakota, at the last session of Congress, without any restrictive clause upon the subject of slavery in the act which admitted them. Sir, like the great patriot and statesman who preceded him, and with whom he might be more justly compared than with any other public man on this continent, STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS would “rather be right than be President.”

Connected with the Democratic party of the Northwest from his very entrance into public life, he was the embodiment of that party—its very type and model. Some of his political friends there, who had been alarmed with the bold, striking, and original doctrines which he promulgated, abandoned him. Nothing daunted, never alarmed, trusting in his own robust strength,

his native intellectual vigor, his fearlessness, his originality, he battered down the strongholds of his opponents, either subduing them with the strong power of his logic, or overcoming them with the force of his argument. Discomfited and powerless, they left him master of the field. One of the strongest illustrations of his power on such an occasion was his memorable speech at Chicago, on his return there from Washington, after the passage of the "compromise bill of 1850."

But, sir, above and beyond all his other great qualities, his patriotism, his love of country, his devotion to the Constitution, to the Union, to the glorious flag which is its emblem, were the most prominent traits of Senator DOUGLAS's character. In life—ay, even in death—this sentiment, this feeling, was uppermost in his mind; this idea the most prominent even when death claimed him as his own. The last letter he indited for publication was the letter published about two weeks before his death in the National Intelligencer, addressed to the "chairman of the Democratic committee" in this city. I will read two short extracts, to show you what, at that short period before his death, *he* thought was the duty of every loyal American citizen in the present crisis. After stating the circumstances which led to the present deplorable state of public affairs, he says:

"In view of this state of facts, there is but one path of duty left to *all* patriotic men. It is not a party question, nor a question involving partisan policy; it is a question of government or no government; country or no country; and hence it becomes the duty of every Union man, every friend of constitutional liberty, to rally to the support of our common country, its government, and its flag, as the only means of preserving the Union of the States."

Again, he says :

“I know of no mode by which a *loyal citizen* may so well demonstrate his devotion to his country as by sustaining the flag, the Constitution, and the Union, under all circumstances and under *every* Administration, (regardless of party politics;) against all assailants at home and abroad.”

Fellow-democrats of the House of Representatives, friends of DOUGLAS, these are the words of our great leader; the man whom we delighted to honor; whose banner we have borne aloft “in the battle and the breeze;” with whom we have abided in good and evil report; around whom we have rallied; for whom we have fought the good fight, even under circumstances well calculated to dampen the ardor of the bravest and most devoted. It is the language of one to whom we adhered even unto the end. They are his dying words to us—the last legacy to his friends; and shall we not demonstrate our devotion to him, as well as to our country, by sustaining the “Constitution, the Union, and its flag,” regardless of all former differences of political opinions—of party politics? I hope so; I believe so. And if permitted to look down upon our deliberations here from “mansions on high,” will he not feel that, in death as in life, he has never found us divided?

Mr. Speaker, I have said his devotion to the Union was strong even in death. Could there be a more solemn, a more touching, a more affecting scene, than when the angel of death was flapping his broad wing over the emaciated frame of this intellectual giant, when the grave was opening to receive him, and when, in a moment of apparent consciousness, his lovely and loving and devoted wife asked the dying statesman if he had

any message to send to his two sons? When not hearing or not understanding the question, she knelt over him and whispered it once more in that ear so soon to be as deaf to sound as the clod that covers him, rallying for a moment, his eye flashing, his whole frame dilated, "Tell them," said he, "to obey the laws, and support the Constitution of the United States."

Sir, he rests from his labors; his work on earth is ended; his ashes mingle, as they rightly should, with the dust of the prairie, in that great and noble State to which he owed so much, and with whose name the fame of this great statesman will be forever identified.

Address of MR. WICKLIFFE, of Kentucky.

MR. SPEAKER: I had the honor of knowing Judge DOUGLAS. Our acquaintance commenced in 1843. He was a member of the House of Representatives, I a member of the Executive department of this government, and then received from him and witnessed acts of his disinterestedness and support. A friendship was then formed between us which lasted until his death, and I can and do cheerfully concur in all that has been said of him to-day. No eulogy of mine can add to his reputation as a statesman. The records of his country bear evidence to the world of his public services.

It was my fortune, during a period of ten year's service in the House of Representatives, in the exciting times of 1823 to 1833, when the nation was threatened with the evils of secession by South Carolina, to hear and

witness the contests of the national men of that day. I have heard Mr. DOUGLAS, and can say his power as a debater, and his devotion to the great principles upon which our government is founded, were not surpassed by the greatest of the great men of that day.

No statesman of the present century, living or dead, has a more consistent record than that of DOUGLAS; consistent in principle, theory, and action.

I rose only, Mr. Speaker, to add my testimony, that it be placed upon the record. I know I speak the sentiments of his friends in Kentucky. My colleague has more appropriately spoken the feelings of the whole State. We mourn his death as a national affliction. He emphatically was a national man. At this time more than any period of his life, does the nation need his services. His devotion to the Union and the Constitution was ardent and sincere; and such men the nation now wants, in this hour of her greatest trial.

Address of MR. FOUKE, of Illinois.

MR. SPEAKER: With the termination of my remarks will, I presume, close the solemn ceremonies of the present occasion. Our thoughts are sad, our hearts are full of mourning. "Death seeks a shining mark." A brilliant sun has gone down at noon. In the meridian of life, in the plentitude of his usefulness and readiness to serve his country in its present great need of the wisest counsels and ready coöperation of its greatest and truest statesman, has STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, standing

at the head of the column of the true patriots of our land, been struck down by death's inexorable fiat! The nation deeply mourns his demise in habiliments of sincere woe. The Congress of the United States will see and hear him no more, as it has hitherto for many years been accustomed to greet his cheerful presence, and dwell with profit and instruction upon his words of wisdom. He has passed from our midst, but he has left us a glorious legacy in his last dying words, enjoining upon his two sons, of tender years, and all the friends about his couch, to stand by the Union and the Constitution of their country, and help to maintain the laws.

Judge DOUGLAS died in the clear, full faith that the Union would be maintained and preserved, as he, as well as Washington, Jackson, Clay, and their compeers, before him, believed it ought to be, no matter who might be the constitutionally elected President.

He had previously, while in health, publicly declared, in view of the crisis which was seriously threatening the destruction of our Union, that he would give up the great party he had all his life clung to, and all hope of future exaltation to power by that, or any other party, to save the Union from destruction. It was a sentiment of patriotic fervor from the bottom of his great American heart. Like the noble sentiment once proclaimed by the immortal Clay, Judge DOUGLAS would "rather be right than be President."

The humble individual who, on this solemn occasion, offers up his mite of tribute to the worth and memory of the departed statesman we mourn, was for many years the personal and political friend and admirer of STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS. I saw him rise rapidly in the

affections of the people of my native State, who knew him well—his genial nature, his generosity, his great energy of character, his integrity, and his wisdom and solid worth; and they soon showered profusely upon him all the honors in their gift—legislative, judicial, and congressional. They saw him among them from choice, the architect of his own fortunes; and with pride they saw him taking and holding a high stand in the councils of the nation—the peer of the mightiest magnates of the Republic. They were anxious to see him, as the true representative man of the people, elevated to the highest office within the gift of American freemen. His friends urged him for the exalted position of President of the United States at the national convention at Baltimore, in 1852. But he knew better than his admiring supporters that his nomination could not be made without strife. Hence he urged them to yield to a compromise upon Franklin Pierce, who was nominated and elected.

In 1856, at the Cincinnati convention, his friends urged him again for the nomination, and he received a large vote; but, ever disinterested and desirous of harmony in his party, he telegraphed his friends in the convention, by all means, as a sound Democratic rule, to vote for Mr. Buchanan as soon as he should receive a bare majority, and nominate him by a two-thirds vote, upon the principle that in party organizations the time had passed for a minority to hold out with a factious opposition to a majority. They did as he requested, and Mr. Buchanan was nominated and elected.

When he had made a successful campaign of Illinois in 1858, for reelection to the Senate, and was returned for the third time, his name was again urged for the

Presidency; all his intimate friends know full well that he resisted this appeal. Having just been elected for another term of six years to the Senate, he desired for the time being no more exalted position. He at last, however, reluctantly yielded his assent, but it was with the distinct understanding that, if nominated, it must be upon his doctrine of "popular sovereignty," as sanctioned by the Cincinnati convention in 1856.

Having thus yielded his assent, he laid before the public, through Harper's Magazine, a lucid, logical, convincing, and unanswerable paper, in illustration and advocacy of the right, fairness, and feasibility of his great measure, which secures to the people of the public Territories, as well as to those of each and all the States, the right to settle all their local and domestic questions in their own way, and to decide for themselves, as the majority in each Territory should determine, whether they should have, or not have, slavery in their midst. This great doctrine of the people's right to decide their own domestic affairs and polity, as the majority might clearly indicate, he held to and advocated to the day of his death. But he lived to realize the proud satisfaction of seeing his cherished principle ingrafted upon the legislation of the country by the *very party* that had struggled *most* to destroy it.

He was one of the people; and he labored all his life to promote their best interests. He believed, implicitly, in our free institutions, and ardently desired to have them spread all over this vast continent. Hence he advocated the annexation of Texas, of California, of Cuba, of closing up the Carribean sea against the further colonization of European Powers upon the western hemisphere.

To the genius, energy, ability, and irresistible influence of STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS in Congress, were the people of Illinois indebted for the great grant of public land within the borders of their State, for railroad purposes, which caused the building of the Illinois Central railroad, running seven hundred miles through that great State, and contributing immensely to the population and wealth of its inhabitants, who honor the great statesman's memory for his gigantic work in behalf of their Commonwealth.

For his great energy and success in carrying through Congress measures for the establishment of ocean steam mail lines between New York city and San Francisco, and the celebrated Collins line, between New York and Liverpool, the people of our whole country have been greatly indebted. He stood up for those lines, and was mainly instrumental in carrying them through Congress, against much formal and official opposition. They proved a brilliant success, and established the wisdom of his action for their creation.

On the questions which convulsed the nation in 1850 he stood a *giant* among a race of giants and patriots, and did yeoman's service in the work of restoring peace and tranquillity to a distracted country.

As a candidate for the Presidency in 1860, Judge DOUGLAS took an exalted position in favor of popular rights—a bold and fearless stand against disunion, and poured forth to the North and the South, without equivocation, his anathemas against the heresies of both sections. He received upwards of one million three hundred thousand votes for President; but was defeated. Murmurings and discontent arose in the land; and ere

his successful coadjutor took the oath office, the work of disintegration was progressing.

Judge DOUGLAS in the Senate, and exerted his mighty powers of mind to restore peace and harmony; and never did his great intellect display more lofty statesmanship, or his noble heart more disinterested patriotism. It was his last senatorial battle. But the clash of intellect has given way to the clash of arms; the panorama of events predicted by him are passing rapidly before us. It is the broken sword; the war steed without his rider; falling columns and crumbling monuments; prostrate commerce and a bankrupt treasury; weeping widows and fatherless children. While the statesman, whose death we so profoundly mourn, believed that the Government would be maintained, yet his great soul was exceedingly sorrowful when he contemplated the horrors of civil strife, which he believed to be inevitable; but he now quietly sleeps in that city peopled by the departed; his stormy voice is mute; his patriotic heart, which, when living, was moved by the noblest emotions of our nature, lies calm and motionless in the grave. DOUGLAS is dead!

The question was taken; and the resolutions were agreed to.

The House thereupon (at four o'clock, p. m.) adjourned.



